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REFLECTIONS,

MORAL AND POLITICAL.

VOL. I.

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E R R A T A.

- P. 13. l. 2. For *Wittenagemot* read *Wittenagemote*.
P. 84. l. 3. dele *by*.
P. 107. l. 6. read *impliedly inherent*.
P. 116. l. 8. place *et*.
P. 124. l. 19. for *are* read *is*.
P. 226. l. 12. for *clameure* read *clameur*.
Ibid. l. 16. for *Elbauf* read *Elbæuf*.
P. 229. l. 3. for *depend* read *depends*.
P. 241. l. 11. for *too* read *two*.
P. 249. l. 1. dele *we live in*.
P. 266. l. 4. for *to* read *with*.
P. 268. l. 8. for *manufactures* read *manufacturers*.
Passim, for *Censorial* read *Censorian*.

POLITICAL REFLECTIONS.

INTRODUCTION.

POLITICAL œconomy, when considered in the enlarged and completely ennobled view of things, may be ranked among the sciences. It is in respect of states, what morality is in relation to individuals, and both are intimately connected. The standard of politics, as of the fine arts, should be nature ; all should be a faithful imitation of her. The same moral rectitude that ought to regulate the actions of men, should, all things equal, influence the conduct of kingdoms towards each other. But if that moral rectitude is rarely, if ever to be found strictly adhered to in the social intercourse of individuals, it is still less so in that of nations : For the errors that mislead, the passions that make man swerve from the right path in the various occupations of society, are multiplied in the aggregate national body he is a member of. Hence, the private quarrels, fears and jealousies of a people among themselves, are proportionally increased in their transactions as a public body politic with the

neighbouring countries. The scenes of human depravity disclosed in courts of judicature, in the dealings between man and man, are but epitomes of the greater evils occasioned by warring nations; they are but parts of the whole, they are mischiefs confined to narrower circles; national misfortunes circulate in larger spheres. Where families are involved in the ruin incident to the one, whole states are in the other. He that wantonly, and to gratify a wild ambition, would tread on the ruins of a family, contributes, what in him lies, to the ruin of his country, composed of numbers of families; and the converse holds as infallibly, he that would sacrifice nations to his false schemes of power, and mistaken sources of wealth, necessarily involves in one general wreck all the individuals they consist of. For the state culprit, there is this to be said, that his misdeeds may proceed from error in judgment, and no bad intention: But the invader of the peace of domestic society, admits of no such vindication; his conduct is incapable of palliatives, destitute of subterfuge; in the midst of his career, however successful, he must have his moments of compunction, if not his days of retribution.

STILL there may, and ought to be a check to these growing evils, a remedy for such abuses; and

that should be found in the governing powers, in kings and their ministers. From an union of morals and politics, and from that source alone can flow the happiness of individuals, the peace of nations, the repose of the universe.

As in kingly governments, almost all we know of, hereditary descent, not election, and wisely so, is the rule of succession ; where the measures pursued in them, depend on the sole and unlimited will of the Sovereign, if they are bad, the subject has much to suffer, he much to answer to his God, to himself, and his country. Nor are the miseries of a weak or wicked reign confined to the period of its own existence, but are entailed on a series of successive generations. Happy are the people whose lot it is, without the disorders and civil contentions of an elective monarchy, to be under the dominion of one whose sole aim is to form their happiness ; whose chief study is to diffuse the same security and tranquillity round the cottage as his palace ; to leave with the poor and industrious the fruits of their labour ; to extend to all under him indiscriminately the protection of the laws. Such a one, when he is called to surrender his earthly charge, to give an account of it before the King of Kings, is followed to the tomb with the tears of his people ; his

name is transmitted to posterity with the grateful acknowledgments of poets and historians.

WHAT a contrast to such a philanthropic Prince does he form, who, to gratify a wanton cruel ambition, stalks through the havoc and devastation of provinces; sports with lives not his property, but entrusted to his care; for the acquisition of countries he never saw, the subjection of people he never knew; who pants after fading laurels steeped in the blood of thousands, purchases the vain and empty titles of Warrior, Hero, Conqueror, at the expence of every thing dear to his own peace, and that of his fellow creatures? Let such a one tremble on his throne before the gazing multitude, amid the flattering delusions of his courtiers, when the man is lost, or seems to be, in something more than human. But when in retirement, in his most secret recesses, stripped of all his state and pageantry, at the silent midnight hour, reduced to the wants and infirmities of human nature with the poorest of his subjects, it is then he shrinks under the horrors of his disturbed conscience, that robs him of that repose not denied to the peasant's labours.

WHAT depends on ministers to aid the good, or prevent the bad designs of their masters,

for the sake of humanity, let it be done. They who are chosen from among the people, to guide and direct them, should be such as are eminent for the united qualities of the head and heart. It is not enough that they are possessed of popular brilliant talents, to command attention in the senate, lead assemblies; they ought, to the statesman, to join the moral character, to form lasting plans for the prosperity of the nations, the good of the people, and on such to build their own greatness. Temporary expedients from day to day, are not the objects of a wise administration, much less are the measures that sacrifice the present to future generations, or future to the present, as is so uniformly done in the ruinous system of funding. When the succeeding race, in addition to the miseries transmitted to them by their predecessors, have perhaps to struggle with similar or greater; of their own creation, what and how deplorable must be their situation, if ours is such with all the anticipation of their wealth, of strength not our own, and borrowed assumed resources. Excessive taxes are certain marks of a declining state; they are the artificial supplies of the defect of natural strength, and as such in politics, where nature is the best and most infallible guide, as throughout the circle of arts and sciences, they reduce the nations that have recourse to

them, to the fatal necessity of increasing, in proportion to their inability to bear them.

LET but one great, brave, active, disinterested man, arise, says Bolingbroke, and he will be received, followed, almost adored. There never was a crisis so ripe as the present, for the appearance of such a one to save the state : And such a one, I trust, we have. Let any person of taste and discernment read the same author's Idea of a Patriot King, and say whether he is not struck with it to a degree of rapture. It is for want of philanthropic princes and statesmen, that political science aspires not to those sublimer speculations, that might consider the world as one great republic, composed of several subdivisions, all linked together in one common federal bond of union, adopting their several salutary laws and institutions, supplying each others wants with their respective superfluities, rivals only in industry, and the arts of peace, supplanting all distrusts and jealousies of commerce with an honest and laudable emulation, in conformity to the maxims of sound policy, the dictates of natural liberty ; swords beat into plough-shares, and spears into pruning-hooks. It is in the degeneracy of politics that nations adopt that selfish system, which teaches, that each can only effect its own good, in proportion

to the injuries it occasions to its neighbours. It is in the degeneracy of both sciences, morals and politics, the practical deficiency and falling off from the more refined truths they contain, that in the one, in private life, prevails domestic intrigue, in the other, or public life, corresponding with it keeps pace political intrigue. In either, the diminutive contracted scale is the rule of conduct; in neither, the completely enlarged, ennobled view of things. Hence it is, that all such theories are treated as visionary, Atlantic and Utopian, and instead of the practice deducible from them, that uninterrupted series of wars, that desolation of states and empires, that, almost from the first records of time, to the present day, stain the annals of mankind, and fill the tragic and bloody pages.

In such a perverted arrangement of things, patriotism, not ranked among the Christian, becomes a necessary virtue. Whatever pretensions to that name the following sheets may have, their aim certainly is the defence of this, not the attack of any other country. It has had enough, too much of grandeur and conquest; not war now, but peace, not the acquisition of more, but retention of what it is possessed of, is its object: To avoid the one, and secure the other, a proper state of defence is the only means left. To accomplish that end, the favourable opportunity of

peace is to be seized on, to retrench the burdens of past wars, the better to be prepared for future, that there is no preventing. If, in these exhortations to the British nation, to guard against surrounding dangers, in the comparative view, drawn between it and its rival power, much is said against that power, as much might be said for an individual naturalized in, though not native of it, whose labours are an ornament, not only to his country, but to human nature : Who has happily blended the characters of profound statesman, financier and moralist ; whose sentiments, had they earlier enlightened the world, and been earlier adopted by those most interested in them, are such as would have effectually prevented the calamitous situation of both countries ; and even now, late as it is, if steadily pursued, and invariably adhered to, might still retrieve them from it. But the dismissal of so uncorrupted a character, so philanthropic and able a statesman from his employments, instead of the reward due to his singular merits, is no favourable symptom in those he served of conversion to his measures, announce no adoption of his line of politics, the more just and practicable, as they are in that due medium between the two extremes, that the ancient and modern writers have fallen into, the Atlantic, Utopian notions indulged on the one hand, and the

Machiavelian abandoned principles given way to on the other, which view men in no other light than as mere machines.

IF to his integrity, to his religious and political principles, this great man owes his fall, it is to female arts and intrigues, that is to be ascribed the disgrace of him, whose measures, in the conduct of the peace of Paris 1763, laid the foundation of the present relative situations of the two countries. Such is the government of that country, which this has to cope with; and if so fluctuating, influenced by such secret and indirect springs, operating on the will of the monarch, which knows no control, what security could we ever have had, or can expect to have, on its treaties, or stipulated engagements.

STATES, when well instituted, should be frequently brought back to their first principles; and if badly framed, made to spring, as from a second origin; as the human race itself, did, on the irruption of the barbarous nations. From the chaos, the confusion of the dark middle ages, resulting from their invasions, gradually arose the present order of European policy. Human nature, exhausted and worn out in forming the masters of the old world, was recruited, and restored from the frozen loins of the

North, for the succeeding generations that were to occupy the new ; and they proceeding in the same train of degeneracy and corruption, seem to be ripening for another such visitation, from whatever quarter it comes.

If the immortal Newton had reason to assign the *vis inertiae*, as a principle of bodies, how much more applicable is the rule to the moral world, where minds continue longest in the train they have been put in, and most inflexibly retain the impressions they have received. So true is it, that custom, though blind and bad, becomes a second nature, with its iron sceptre rules the universe, drowning the voice, and not listening to the precepts of that primary nature, that does nothing in vain. So difficult is it, to take away from human errors, the venerable rust of antiquity : A happy effect, which not even the light of revelation itself, has been able to produce, in dispelling that darkness, in which it found the world ; the abuse of which, has, on the contrary, added to the evils it was given to remove. Nor are we roused from that state of indifference, freed from the shackles of custom, to remedy abuses, receive impressions of truth, but by some great and sudden calamity, some unexpected revolution, or the efforts of a heaven-born genius, sent to instruct and reform mankind, to extricate them out of the laby-

rinths of error, that had long involved and perplexed them. If instances were to be adduced in support of this observation, we have a remarkable one in the barbarous custom of the exposition of newborn infants, that prevailed at Athens. In its rude state, it had its origin, but its inveteracy was such, as to make it survive Athenian civilization.

O navis, referent in mare te novi

Fluctus.———

It is not in a lethargic supineness we are to be lulled secure, that is unwilling more than unable to stem the present tide of affairs, but there is a correction of abuses, a system of political œconomy, not to be dispensed with, that the perverted order of things requires, the luxury and degeneracy of the times demand. The best alleviation of private adversity, is public prosperity ; but when both conspire, as, at this hour, in this island, to oppress it and its inhabitants, how many thousands are labouring under the joint burden, and how many thousands more, are well nigh sinking under it.

LET not our negligence reduce us to the inextricable dilemma, in which Livy found and lamented the Roman State, neither able to bear its evils, nor the remedies applicable to them. Now, either silence or neutrality, would be as criminal, as ever Solon made it at Athens. A zeal, at least, for the

service of the country, will appear throughout this detail ; if, in some instances, it is carried to excess, in others mistaken, in none, it is trusted, will it seem lukewarm.

THE three leading objects, amid the variety that present themselves in the following sheets, are, *1st*, An attempt to shew what a country, both separately considered, and contrasted with others, has been sacrificed to injudicious plans of government : *2^{dly}*, Where the political defects and errors have lain : *3^{dly}*, What different system of policy remains to be adopted, as best calculated to extricate it out of its present declining state, by an enquiry into the means left for its recovery and re-establishment. Every topic here discussed, is subordinate to, and has a tendency, mediate or immediate, to these three main ends and designs.

HISTORICAL DEDUCTION

OF THE

CONSTITUTION OF ENGLAND.

SOME historians and antiquarians contend, that the Saxon Wittenagemot, was a sketch of the present parliament ; that in it was an assemblage of the three estates of the kingdom. But as they may not be all agreed on a point of so high antiquity, and between the different opinions, a decision may be attended with its difficulties, where the records, of so remote a date, are involved in so much doubt and obscurity, it is safe, at least, to conclude, that under the Saxon kings, Alfred the Great, the founder of the British state, Arthur the British Worthy, Edward the Confessor, there were wise and wholesome legal institutions ; and chiefly that great bulwark of our law, the trial by jury, a regular government esta-

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blished, a considerable portion of liberty diffused through all ranks and descriptions of men.

THE Saxon government, laws, civil and criminal, jurisdiction, manners, customs, language, all were entirely suppressed and effaced, with not a vestige left, at the Norman conquest. The faint dawnings of liberty, that appeared in the nation before it, were at it stifled in the birth, sacrificed to the slavish subordination of the feudal system, then at once transplanted into these realms from the continent, in its full growth and maturity. No revolution, in any age or country, has been more sudden than this, attended with greater success, changes more violent, or more complete in its operations, with consequences more extensive.

A DISCUSSION of William's legal title, is more the province of historians, and rather foreign to this design: Whether he or Edgar Atheling was the heir to the Crown; whether he was named heir in Edward the Confessor's testament; these are facts that require a long investigation, and variety of materials to ascertain them. The point of right, Whether, supposing the legal title not vested in him, Edward could, by will, appoint him his successor at that period of the constitution, would lead into another length of argument here

to be waved. It would certainly appear not, as the hereditary monarchy of the freest people of the times, was then established. Harold, it is on all hands agreed, had no title to the throne, but being seconded by a part of the nation, the competition was brought to the decision of arms at Hastings, and, in those days, generally a single battle decided the fate of kingdoms. But the pretended legal title, vested in William by descent, was preferable to, and not to be obliterated by any, that the right of arms could furnish him with; of which truth he himself was well aware, and in the whole course of his reign, never availed himself of that of Conqueror: Historians have given it him, or Feudists, in conformity to their law, in which conquest signifies acquisition; as in the Scottish law, derived from the same source, it does to this day.

BUT if William did not assume the title of Conqueror, he exercised all the rights belonging to it in their utmost extent. The feudal system, which, in all the other countries of Europe it was received in, made its advances by slow degrees, and in regular progression through the temporary fiefs during pleasure, to those for life, and from them to those that were hereditary, he introduced into this country, in its full vigour, in its last stage of

improvement. In the spirit of it so framed, he parcelled out the whole lands in the kingdom among his followers, exercised the game and forest laws with the greatest severity, established a military government on the ruins of the civil. Such was the rigour of it, as to occasion a revolt, not only of the natives, but of the Normans also; both fruitless, owing to their want of concert and union, on which has uniformly depended, as will appear from the historical deduction of our free constitution here attempted, the success of the people for its advancement, as from their disunion resulted the revolutions that retarded it.

In proportion as the mutual distrusts and jealousies of the English and Normans disappeared, as the memory of the past injuries was obliterated, and their constant intercourse, intermarriages, joined with the lenient hand of time, had confounded all distinctions, consolidated them into one people, their condition was gradually improved, the severity of their yoke relaxed, first in the charter granted by Henry I. then in the revival of the ancient mode of trial by jury; and the regular administration of justice in the circuit courts established by Henry II. all auspicious preludes to the important concessions made by King John.

THE great advantage that enabled England so early to assert its liberty, and, after so happily laying the foundation of it in Magna Charta, invariably and progressively to pursue the object of its completion, in rearing it to that standard and model of perfection, long since the admiration of the universe, was its unity and concentrated force as a kingdom. During the greatest rigour of the feudal system, from the conquest to the reign of King John, it had but one uncontrolled master to obey; all eyes were of course directed to him, the condition of the subjects, whether Nobles or Commons, was one and the same unlimited state of subjection. As all ranks and orders of men mutually shared in their sufferings, so were the advantages likely to be reciprocal, that were to be derived to their situation, and the cause, that had for its object the attainment of them, a common one. If fellow-feeling did not lead to such an union of interests, at least necessity did, as the nation divided against itself was not equal to the work of reform, but united was, and more particularly when, in its union, it had but one object, the regal power, to contemplate, and contend with, and that centered in hands too weak to wield the sceptre.

THE end obtained in that memorable contest for liberty, was proportioned to the means conducive

to it. The grievances of the nation, previous to it, were general, the rising of it all at once, to redress them, was so too. What remained for a weak and defenceless king to do in such a desperate extremity, deserted by his followers, almost to a man, but surrender at discretion, and receive the law from his exasperated subjects? In that situation, he signed the famous Magna Charta, with the charter of the forest, abolishing the tyrannical part of the forest laws. Proportionable privileges to those obtained by the immediate vassals of the Crown, were communicated to their dependants. With arms in their hands, the Commons that contributed to the emancipation of the Barons, could not be supposed to lay them down, till they themselves were placed in the same degree of freedom.

PERSONAL security, the security of property, the regulation of judicature in the trial by jury, the mercantile interests, those four cardinal points of rights, that so remarkably establish the importance of that contract, all classes and descriptions of men were called to a full participation of: And so diffused was the influence of this national good, in its thirty-eight articles, so low did it descend, that the implements of tillage of the villain or bondman, were secured against forfeiture.

Thus this country, exhibits a singular phenomenon in history, passing all at once, as it were, *per saltum*, so Judge Hales expresses himself, from the extreme of feudal subjection, to the extreme of popular freedom, as will be allowed, at least, when with this great and important event are connected, the immediate result of it, the improvements made on it, after so short an interval, in Edward the First's reign.

THIS is the epoch of the first glorious, and successful exertion of the spirit of liberty, in our island; and watchful must that spirit have been, that secured to itself forty subsequent confirmations of this famous charter, by renewals of them at the beginning of every reign, and repetitions of the confirmations in the same reigns. Edward I. confirmed it eleven times. But the corroborations, added to the confirmations it received from that Prince, styled the English Justinian, from his many wise constitutional legal provisions, strongly mark a second, most important æra, in the history of English law and liberty. That liberty, which owed its origin to the extorted concessions of a weak and infatuated prince, the greatest succeeding monarchs, the First and Third Edwards, voluntarily augmented, and improved with their numerous wholesome regulations. During the course of centuries, and a

long line of reigning princes, however contrasted in the qualities of the heart or understanding, from the best to the worst, from the strongest to the weakest, in those intervals, that the free constitution gained no additional strength, it lost no ground.

BUT the feudal system had taken too deep root, to be so suddenly, and so effectually eradicated, as was intended in these bold and rapid strides of our ancestors: The complete emancipation from that yoke, required the lenient hand of time, slower and more gradual advances. It was not in the nature of things, that any human institution, should at once be invented and perfected.

THE laws in favour of the people, did not meet with that strict and impartial execution, that the Barons experienced, in those on which were founded their particular privileges and immunities. But even in that early period, in the infancy of our constitution, we see the growing power and increase of influence of the Legislature. Coeval with the existence of the House of Commons, was its rise into that valuable and important privilege, granted it in conjunction with the other House, by Edward I. in the statute, *de Tallegio non concedendo*, by which it was decreed, that no tax should be laid,

nor impost levied, without the joint consent of Lords and Commons. The English knew not only how to gain a victory over lawless prerogative, but also how to use it. What early fruits did they reap from their success at Runningmead ! In the following reign under the usurped authority of the Earl of Leicester, had the House of Commons its rise, and the legal sanction was given to the creation by the next succeeding Prince ; and with that sanction, this most inestimable privilege, which supplementary of Magna Charta, formed the basis of liberty, so broad and sure, as to support the admirable superstructure, which modern times have seen raised on it.

JOINED with the exercise of this power, but previous to it, we are to contemplate, in the period under review, the frequent petitions preferred by the Commons, for the redress of grievances, and the granting of them by the Crown made the condition of their grants of supplies to it in return. We see too, in this stage of our history, the frequent exercise of the authority of Parliament, in its interpositions to alter and regulate the succession of our kings, impose entails and limitations on the Crown in its descent. We see a regular and uniform support of its dignity, maintenance of its consequence to a

degree surprising, when its yet but rudest state is considered, as certainly it was its infant state.

THE success of our civil establishment at home, at this time, kept pace with that of our arms abroad. In which train things continued, till interrupted at that other memorable revolution in our affairs, the contest between the houses of York and Lancaster, which for thirty years laid waste the kingdom, exhausted its best blood and treasure.

THIS revolution was the first since the conquest, that was attended with consequences detrimental to the cause of the people. The object of these obstinate long continued civil broils and convulsions, was not how we should be governed, but who should govern; and the chief occupation of Parliament, during them, was to receive the law from the conqueror, to declare alternately for the successful rival competitor for the Crown, to counteract in one session the settlement it had made of it in another; *inter arma silent jura.*

NOR were the calamities attendant on these troubles confined to the period of their existence; but their consequences left such deep and inveterate wounds in the constitution, as proved fatal to

it for ages. At the close of them, the nation was in a similar situation with that it was reduced to at the conquest; with this difference, that, at the one period, it had no laws, at the other, it had, and those the most favourable to liberty, but which proved but a dead letter; at the one æra it had neither the reality nor appearance of freedom, at the other, it lost the substance it had before enjoyed, and exchanged it for the mockery of its shew, and deception of its shadow.

As the acquisition of its liberties, after the one epoch, was the effect of its united efforts, directed against one invader of them in possession of the Crown, so the loss of them was in consequence of its disunion and distraction between two contending rival houses, competitors for the Crown. The claims of both centering in the person of Henry VII. by the double title of birth and marriage, that politic and enterprising prince availed himself amply of the tide of fortune in his favour, took advantage of the exhausted state of the people, after so violent a thirty years struggle, anxious for peace, and laid the foundation of that arbitrary power with which the Tudor princes swayed the sceptre of these realms. He built his policy on the fallen state of the Barons: Depressed by their long and obstinate wars, they became an easy prey to his ambitious

views, which were chiefly directed to the continuance of their depression, that the people, deprived of their former successful leaders, might be in no condition to molest his government, in attempts for the recovery of their dormant privileges.

As the statute *de donis*, introductory of entails, supported them so much in the exercise of their former power and authority, that of *quia emptores*, empowering the sale of entailed lands, was a profound stroke of his policy. He gained his immediate object in the measure, its operation as a bar to the recovery of the nobles' power, in paving the way for the transference into other hands of their property, the source of their greatness.

HERE commenced the æra of the most absolute regal power known in these realms, which continued during the whole line of the Tudors, during that period, in our history, elapsing between the fall of the nobles, and rise of the commons. This race of princes instituted those two arbitrary Tribunals, the Star Chamber and Court of High Commission. The first allotted for civil affairs, adopting the tyrannical doctrine inculcated in Henry the Eighth's reign, that the king's proclamations had the force of law, often grounded its decisions on them. It exercised an uncontrolled power over the liber-

ty of the press ; treated with severity, writers on political subjects ; fixed the number of printers and printing presses ; appointed a licenser, whose consent was necessary to every publication. Regulations, these that now only exist in arbitrary governments, and which, when weighed with the aggravating circumstance of this Tribunal's resting its decisions on its own sole authority, independent of any trial by jury, and in them, an instrument devoted to court views, evince ours to have been in those times, no other than arbitrary.

WHAT the Star Chamber was in civil affairs, that inquisitorial Tribunal, the High Commission, was in religious. Armed with such engines of tyranny, Henry the VIII. was enabled to strain the prerogative to a pitch altogether unprecedented. Yet, in the midst of his violences and oppressions, in alleviation of the peoples wrongs, by a happy combination of circumstances, he was suffered to be the author of the Reformation. He compensated the sacrifices he made of the nation's civil liberties by the introduction of its religious. His bloody treason laws were repealed in the minority of his successor Edward the VI. of too short continuance to let the nation breathe after the severe exactions, and cruel oppressions of the two preceding reigns, and fortify it against the bloody scenes of the suc-

ceeding ; in which, together with the loss of its civil liberties, it was again to suffer that of its recently acquired religious, and on the ruins of both, to see the establishment of the inquisition. In the cause it was desolated ; in the conflict of contending opinions, its blood streamed.

ANOTHER scene opened in Q. Elizabeth's days, another order of things was displayed. The Protestant religion was restored ; victory attended her arms abroad, success crowned her measures at home, insured in the choice and conduct of the ablest statesmen for her ministers, whose negotiations, foreign treaties and alliances, rendered the kingdom flourishing and respectable, promoted its trade and manufactures : The boasted invincible Armada dissipated and destroyed, in its destruction the pride of Spain humbled, its revolted subjects in the low countries encouraged and protected in their independence, all conspired to render her yoke easy, and the burden of it light. The same arbitrary power established by the first of the Tudor line, was successively transmitted to her the last of it : Nor was it impaired or diminished in her hands ; the Star Chamber and High Commission Court, those instruments of oppression still continued, in an imperious tone, the exercise of their illegal functions : But she so tempered the rigour of their pro-

ceedings with her address, and insinuation into the affection of her subjects, as joined with the eclat of her administration, the glory of her arms soon drowned any transient occasional murmurs, and discontents in the tide of popularity, that so strongly run in her favour.

THIS popularity towards the end of her reign, degenerated into the most abject and servile adoration : Some of the latest addresses of her Parliament, particularly one most remarkable, seems more calculated for an heathen Apotheosis, than the language of that assembly to their Sovereign.

IN the mean time, commerce was continually flowing into our ports ; the riches, it diffused, afforded the people the means of purchasing ; the fetters of entail removed from the noble fiefs, the abolition of the monasteries at the Reformation, afforded objects of sale ; and thus property circulated among new possessors, who derived from it a weight in the constitution before unknown. The effects of this change began to appear at the close of Q. Elizabeth's reign, in the Puritanical spirit that the Wentworths were at the head of, but then was stifled in its birth.

FATALLY for that line of kings, in whom centered the two Crowns, they were not sufficiently aware of that combination of circumstances, which transferred so much power into the hands of the people, and, not accommodating their views to the change of the times, they attempted the continuation of the prerogative in the same tone, without any relaxation of its springs, as also without any extraordinary tension of them, in which it was transmitted to them by their predecessors. Nor was it with the address and superior management, popular conduct of Elizabeth, that the attempt was made; which even with such powerful supports, in the change of time and circumstances, might have proved of no avail. But it was on diametrically opposite principles of action that James VI. relied for its success, on the open avowal from the throne of the most unconstitutional dangerous doctrines, the hereditary, indefeasible right of kings, the sacredness of their title, fulness of their power, as God's viceregents on earth.

HERE the mask was taken off, all disguise laid aside, the alarm was spread through the kingdom, the spirit of liberty, that had so long lain dormant, was now at length roused, the clouds began to gather that broke out into that dreadful storm, that laid the kingdom waste under his son Charles I.

He continuing to pursue the same line of measures, fully impressed with the same principles, and the times still less bearing the same system of politics, affairs soon came to a crisis, and that the most awful our history records.

THIS was the æra of the parties, the Cavaliers and Round Heads, a regular opposition was now formed against the court. In all such critical situations, as that unfortunate prince was reduced to, the fatal error in general committed is, that the stronger party seldom knows when it ought to be satisfied with the concessions made to it, to desist in its demands, nor the weaker when or how to make concessions. The Petition of Rights, the act 16th of the same reign, which declared all forced loans, and taxes called benevolences, illegal, abolished arbitrary imprisonments, and the exercise of martial law, suppressed the Star Chamber, and High Commission Court, were such advantages gained to liberty as might have satisfied the Commons; and gained them the appellation of the Deliverers of their country. But mutual distrusts and jealousies served only to inflame the contending parties, to widen the breach between them. The executive power first encroached on the legislative, in its attempt to govern without Parliaments: The legislative, not satisfied with having vindicated its rights,

in its turn encroached as far on the executive, in the usurped right of sitting in virtue of its own authority, retrenching from the Crown its prerogative of dissolving it.

THE Commons, flushed with their success, now finding themselves possessed of strength sufficient to carry on the work of reform, independent of the Nobles, their former co-adjutors, when embarked in the same cause, and who then took the lead in it, pushed their advantages beyond the point, on which turned the balance of the constitution, overleaped the due limits prescribed to them by the wisdom of ages, at one time levelled their attacks against the first, at another against the second branch of legislation, now independent of it, and equal to the business of reform alone.

UNITED, they first reared the standard of liberty, united, they fell in the full career towards the object of its completion. But the Commons fell but to rise again, without their former leaders, and even on their ruins. But when the Nobles of France were crushed, the people could not rise to any consequence without them, that never had with them, they remained sunk, as they ever had been.

OUR House of Commons did not desist from their enterprizes, till confounding prerogative and

privilege, beginning with riot, tumult, and sedition, they proceeded to the most cruel civil war, anarchy, and confusion, a total overthrow of the constitution in Church and State, and on the ruins of both, the establishment of a Commonwealth. But the end aimed at, in all these bloody means, was not accomplished, as in the English Commonwealth, there was no more real liberty, than in the Roman, and the loss of it in both, proceeded from the same cause, the confusion of the legislative and executive powers, which effected the absolute dominion of a few popular leaders to pass from them to one. There is no more certain axiom in politics, than that the dominion of all resolves itself into that of a few ; that of a few, finally into that of one.

THE long Parliament, which sat, in virtue of that unconstitutional privilege derived to it, its own authority, independent of the King's power of dissolution, sacrificed in the wreck of the times, was the efficient cause of all the calamities of this reign. So rapidly, but yet through so much blood, such scenes of horror and devastation, did this people pass from the extreme of prerogative, to the extreme of privilege, both equally repugnant to that liberty, they in vain sought after, which consisted only in the due medium between them, in their intemperate zeal transgressed.

THE puritanical spirit that murmured only at the end of Elizabeth, and throughout James's reign, now raged aloud, served much to carry the spirit of liberty to that excess, first stirred up, then heaped fuel on those flames of civil discord, that laid waste the three kingdoms in one general conflagration.

THE catastrophe that closed this revolution, its tragical end, the recital of which may make kings tremble on their thrones, must here have a veil drawn over it.

THIS was the second revolution unfavourable to liberty, in its immediate consequences.

THE restoration of monarchy was attended with a restoration of the same principles, that led to the preceding revolution, and that which followed. They were hereditary in the race of kings, that, in the last century, filled the throne: And Charles the Second's education in his adversity on the continent, was calculated to confirm him in them, and fortify all his prejudices. The halcyon days of the restoration, were of short duration. They were succeeded by a repetition of the recent mutual distrusts and jealousies between king and people, a revival of the same principles, only taught more moderation in

their zeal, more temperature in their heat, by the sad experience of the evils they had so lately escaped from. The parties, that under the names of Cavaliers and Round Heads in the late reign, rent the kingdom asunder, in this, under those of Court and Country, continued to divide it.

THE foreign alliances entered into, so contrary to its true interests, the impolitic wars engaged in, contributed to widen the breach. Such an opposition of interests, such unremitted struggles between prerogative and privilege, could admit of nothing being left to discretion on either side, nothing undefined. There was an indispensable necessity of drawing the line between them, allotting to each their precise boundaries, their separate and distinct provinces. The reformation, accomplished in the late revolution, served to bring back the constitution to its first principles, to divest it of all the engines of arbitrary power, with which the Tudors had loaded it : But much of the work still remained to be done ; and great was the progress made towards the completion of it in this reign, as the abolition of feudal tenures, the repeal of the laws against heretics, the bill for the meeting of Parliament, once, at least, in three years, the Habeas Corpus act, in its present improved form, (for there

was another such act before) that great bulwark of liberty, all so amply evince.

BARRIERS of such a number and strength, now raised to the constitution in these two successive reigns, rendered it so secure, as to baffle all attacks that might be levelled against it. The vain attempts that James II. made for its subversion, were the least of all calculated for success. His declarations of absolute power, and unlimited obedience, his profession of the Roman Catholic religion, so favourable to such principles, and that so strongly inculcated these doctrines, soon spread the alarm through the nation, brought things early to a crisis decisive of his fate, and productive of an event, the most important and memorable on record. Actuated by his furious bigotted zeal, keeping no measures with his subjects, he rushed headlong on his ruin. In the late revolution, the alarm was for our civil liberties, and they not having been defined, or well understood, the nation was divided in the contest, the three kingdoms up in arms about them. In this the object to contend for, being both the civil and religious liberties, the religious, as dear as the civil, considering the sufferings and calamities endured for them; the nation was in it united, the parties coalesced, and what arms did in the one, and fatally too for liberty, in the other, a conven-

tion of the estates, a convention Parliament did, and most prosperously for the perfection of the constitution.

AND here it is to be observed, of the four great revolutions, in the history of our constitution since the conquest, that the first and last, both so decisive in its favour, the one in laying the foundation, the other in raising so admirable a superstructure on it, were effected by the unanimity of the people, in the one case, with arms in their hands, as no other remedy was left them before the existence of Parliaments, in the other, by availing themselves of that resource in the more legal and constitutional manner, pointed out by it. But in both instances, the contest was momentary, whether that preceding the signing the Charter at Running-Mead, or the revolution in 1689, the decision of it, important in its consequences, memorable in the event.

IN the two intermediate revolutions, the one effected by the civil wars between the Houses of York and Lancaster, the other by those in Charles First's reign, the consequence of the divisions was the loss of liberty : The testimony of which periods proves, that there are times for our factions, and party-divisions to sleep, as well as to wake ; that there are cases of extreme necessity, times of

public danger, whether from within or from without, that we are to be armed at all points, and all distinctions to be at an end, to make way for unanimity, as productive of the only salutary national good. And there are dangers threatening our liberties from both quarters, more imminent, perhaps, from without than from within.

At no time were the effects of that union more remarkable, than at that under review; when the nation, pushed to extremity, withdrew its allegiance from a prince, who first had broken through all the ties of the most solemn engagements, by which it was bound to him. He finding himself stripped of all authority, at once reduced to the station of a private individual from that of a sovereign, in the utmost dilemma, perplexity and consternation, fled his capital, fled his kingdom: The Parliament, in his absence, seizing the critical moment, met in virtue of its own authority, declared the throne vacant, in consequence of the King's abdication, and proceeded to the nomination of a successor.

They availed themselves of the very singular concurrence of circumstances to enter into a renewal, in express definite terms, of that original contract, in all legal governments implied, be-

tween prince and people. A formula was prescribed, strictly worded and cautiously guarded, that was to serve as the rule for all future coronation oaths. By the famous Bill of Rights presented to King William on his accession, for his concurrence, all past abuses, that had crept into the government, were corrected, and additional securities stipulated for the people; the Roman Catholic religion was made a bar to the succession to the Crown, the freedom of debate in Parliament was in the fullest manner established. The leading articles in it were, the abolition of the Dispensing power claimed by the Crown; the declaration of its usurped authority to levy taxes, keep up a standing army in time of peace, without the consent of Parliament, to be illegal: The establishment of the peoples right to petition the Throne.

THESE important privileges, joined with the liberty of the press, established four years after the Revolution, reared, to little short of the standard of perfection, the English Constitution, the basis of which was laid six hundred years before, that had stood the test of so many revolutions, to which so many of its kings had fallen sacrifices. Happy had it been for this deluded prince, had the Exclusion Bill, levelled at him in his brother's reign,

carried through the lower, and rejected in the upper House, passed into a law, less happy perhaps for the nation.

DURING all the fluctuating periods under review, there appeared a spirit of liberty inherent in the people, which seized every favourable conjuncture to assert its rights, and when forced to yield to the necessity of the times, was too deeply rooted in their breasts, to be ever altogether eradicated, too strongly impressed to be quite extinguished; and, if at intervals, apparently sunk and depressed, it was in reality but retired and collected within itself, to recruit its broken and scattered force, to renew its vigour, preparatory to redoubled efforts for its subsequent vindication; like the guardian Genius of the Isle, it seems ever to have hovered round it, for its protection, and watchful over its interests, to have proclaimed the safety of the people the supreme law.

IF the licentiousness, into which our liberty often runs, as it ever has done in all similar states, is objected as a heavy disadvantage attending it, the answer is obvious, that there is no arguing against the use of any thing, from its abuse; the very best things may be abused; nor in any instance is this truth more fatally for the universe

evinced, than religion, as half of the wars in the history of mankind, have been occasioned by the spirit of intolerance, one doctrine of faith, with fire and sword, extirpating another, one sect wreaking its vengeance against another. The licentiousness of mobs, that sometimes, with us, breaks out in tumults and seditions, has this advantage attending it, with all its temporary inconveniencies, that it shews a spirit of liberty kept alive in the mass of the people, that would take the alarm, on any attacks being made on the constitution; and how infinitely preferable is it to the tranquillity of despotic governments, deprived of all life and animation, resembling the repose of death, more ruinous than even a state of war, not to mention riot and sedition; and which is but a state of war between the Despot and his slaves, with fear, the principle of the government.

COMPARATIVE VIEW
OF THE
FRENCH MONARCHY
IN CHURCH AND STATE.

AFTER this summary historical deduction of our free constitution, it remains to assign the reasons of the contrast formed to it, in the French absolute monarchy.

IF the true source of English liberty was the great and early power of the kings; if that power was owing to the revolution of the Conquest, with its concomitant sudden influx of the feudal system in all its vigour, which acknowledged but one Lord Paramount, and from him, downwards, a subordination and subjection, through all ranks of men, without competition and control: So, on the other hand, to the want of that early union in France, to its long continued division into many

fiefs, and, among them, the Crown only the principal fief, retrenched in its power by the rivalship of its turbulent vassals, is to be attributed its want of liberty. The government of that, as well as all the other feudal nations on the continent, owing to the same causes, was at first a tyrannical aristocracy, afterwards changed to absolute monarchy; the transition was but from a few to one absolute master.

SINGULAR has been that of this country, and different from all the rest, in experiencing only a change from absolute to limited monarchy. In all the Seigniories in France, the people suffered the most extreme oppression; their want of concerted measures, from the number of their oppressors, prevented any being effectual for the redress of grievances; their tumultuary insurrections, at different times, and in different places, not all at once, and of a people embarked in one common cause, asserting their rights as men, in vindication of their liberties, were easily suppressed, with additional aggravations of the yoke. In all encroachments made on the Crown by the Nobles, in the wars they successfully waged with it, they were to their own advantage only; and the treaties entered into, contained no stipulations in favour of the people, as that shews concluded

between Lewis XI. and several of the Princes and Peers of France, entitled a treaty made at St Maur, September 29. 1465. In this treaty, which was made in order to terminate a war, as it was styled, *pro bono publico*, no provision was made but for the power of a few Lords ; not a word was inserted for the people. It is this treaty that De Lolme so forcibly contrasts with the Magna Charta, where special provisions were made for the bondman.

As little resemblance as there was between these two transactions, was there between our Parliament and the general Estates of France, composed of the three orders, with but a faint representation of the third, and the shadow of power vested in it. In such a government, when the Crown, by the gradual and imperceptible extension of its authority, its continual diminution of the power of its vassals, who were not sufficiently aware of the consequences of its designs and policy, had, by the effectual means, that remain to be traced at some length, engrossed the whole of it, and completed their overthrow : Then it was, that the fate of the people, involved in theirs, was with theirs decided, and without any further effort, absolute monarchy established on the ruins of aristocracy. Then, too late, the Nobles saw their error, in not having entered into a cordial

union and alliance with the people, and made a common cause with them, against the usurpations of the Sovereign; in not having extended to their dependents the privileges procured to themselves: Nor till then did they perceive, that the state of servile subjection, in which they kept them, was but preparatory to a similar one, that they, in their turn, were to experience under an unlimited master of their own creation.

THE only period in our history, that presents England in the same weak divided state, was not, we have seen, during the prevalence of any feudal aristocracy, but long previous to the introduction of that system, during the Saxon Heptarchy, when it was under the dominion of so many Kings.

BUT its neighbouring part of the island Scotland, laboured under the same disadvantages, the same radical defect of constitution, that France and the other feudal countries did; which contributed so much to its misfortunes, in its frequent and bloody civil wars, in those it engaged in with its neighbouring islanders, while it was the dupe of its alliances with its continental neighbours, whose maxim has ever been to embroil the two parts of Britain, in order the better to enable them to cope with their rivals in it.

THE political constitution of Scotland has undergone no change, but remains aristocratical to this day. As it was the first of the two parts of the island, to receive the feudal system ; so is it the last to retain the impressions derived from it. Of the first of these assertions, there will be as little doubt entertained, by those that will enter into the detail of the arguments on it, as of the last ; arguments of too great length here to be discussed, and too foreign to the end here in view. The periods of its introduction into the southern and northern parts of the island, were not less different than the modes ; in the one it was sudden and violent, too violent for its effects to last, and its force concentric ; in the other more gradual, its force less violent, more diffused, consequently of longer continuance.

IN all these respects, Scotland approaches nearer the condition of the other feudal nations on the continent, than England, which differs both from it and them, as widely also in the admirable constitution it has raised on the ruins of that system, which occasioned so great a revolution in human affairs. The final suppression of its faint remains in England, in the act styled the Abolition of Tenures, 12th Charles II. preceded the Jurisdiction Act, framed, with the same view, in 1748 for Scotland, near a century : There was this difference besides,

that the first, in point of time, was the most decisive in its effects ; as the latest, in the remedy it applied, has left still many dregs behind.

It was such a singularly fortunate train of events, such admirable policy, that enabled England, so successfully, to cope with its neighbours on the island, and on the continent, and in the midst of its contests with both, to be continually adding to its strength, improving its resources, first, in the conquest of Ireland, by Henry II. then in that of Wales, by Edward I.

THE progressive changes in the French government, are what now require investigation. The first check the growth of the feudal system received, in all the countries it prevailed in, was from the general phrenzy of the Crusades : Much of the turbulent spirit of the Seigneurs evaporated, much of the means that supported it was wasted in those fruitless expeditions. The territorial jurisdictions they possessed, were the chief sources of their power and independence ; the first attacks of their Kings, in the extension of their authority, were necessarily directed against them. It was by artful and indirect methods, they proceeded to undermine what they were not by open force enabled to effect the demolition of : First in the appointment of the

Missi Dominici, or Commissaries for the near inspection of the judicial proceedings in the Seignories, next in the replacing of them by the Grand Baillies, who, if, at first, few in number, only four, of a limited authority, having cognisance only of particular causes, such as were royal, gradually increased in number, and in proportion to their increase of numbers, extended their jurisdiction, and from a restriction of it to a certain class of causes, at length comprehended within it all indiscriminately. The establishment of the Parliaments and appeals to them, and the King's Courts, completed the triumph of the royal authority over the feudal jurisdictions. The first fruits of which were the venality of the judicial offices, a gross abuse at first tolerated, afterwards screened under the sanction of law, and worse than any practised in the Seignior Courts, which they were meant to correct.

OUR Kings directed their policy and views to the same end, first, in depreciating, then undermining and weakening, lastly, supplanting the territorial jurisdictions of the Barons. The means they proportioned to it were different; the earliest effectual means employed were the Circuits, instituted by Henry II. ; next the gradual extension of the authority and influence of the Royal Stationary Courts at Westminster, with the frequency of appeals to

them, where the Kings at first presided in person, afterwards with a delegated authority to Judges of their appointment. These several suspensions, and controls of the judicial feudal powers, paved the way for their final suppression by the 12th of Charles II. and far different from the abuse we have seen of the transference of that power to the French King's Courts from those of their Seigneurs, in the venality of law employments, is the use made of it by our Kings.

ANOTHER considerable source of aggrandisement derived to the royal authority, was the rendering the Crown demesnes and appanages unalienable. The next important object, after so diminishing the jurisdiction of the Seigneurs, was to wrest from them their arms, till the accomplishment of which design, the work was but half completed. The first step taken towards that end, was the prohibition of the tournaments, and for their more effectual suppression, the Papal authority was resorted to, to proclaim the discontinuance of them under pain of excommunication. This policy was followed by another, the dispensing with the personal attendance of them, and their followers, substituting in the room of that military service in war, the maintenance of the King's troops on their territories. Still as the connection formed between the troops so maintain-

ed, and the feudal Lords was more intimate, than between them and the King, by whom they were levied, the aids were adopted in preference to that expedient.

By such a train of policy, were those once so great and powerful rivals of majesty gradually stript of their jurisdictions, of their arms, deprived of their rustic amusements, the martial exercises of the tournaments, a prey to sloth and indolence in the walls of their castles, which they then left for the Court, where the effeminacy and luxury, the spirit of intrigue and gallantry that began to reign, aided by the loose songs of the poets, the representations of the theatre, secured the conquests made by the Kings over their vassals. As the Trobadors, or strolling bards of Provence were instrumental in effecting that extraordinary change of manners, consequent on the introduction of the martial spirit of chivalry, that pervaded Christendom, so their successors at Court were equally successful, in completing the further change of manners from that warlike temperament we have seen to the present luxurious habit, in substituting the enervating representations of the theatre, to such amusements as address themselves to the mind, to the rougher exercises of the tournaments, that required bodily strength and agility, introduced by

their predecessors. In all ages and countries, much of the national character has depended on the influence of the Bards.

DURING all these contests and struggles, we never see the people engaged, they uniformly remained inactive spectators, patiently awaiting the issue, to which side victory might lean, and what might, in the result, be their lot, whether to be at the disposal of one or more masters. So little account did their Kings make of them, that they used them as instruments against the feudal Lords, in granting charters with immunities and privileges to the inhabitants of towns, which they resumed, after they had served their purpose, the defeat of their vassals.

IN no period of their history do we see the object of the civil wars to be the political state of the country, but often the religious, the reverse of ours, and long, bloody and obstinate were those, continued through a succession of reigns, that had the latter object in view. It was after the nation was quite exhausted with the severity and repetition of them, that the ambitious and enterprising Richieu appeared to suppress the General Estates, the only remaining shadow of liberty, in their stead, to substitute a standing army, and in it to rivet the chains of his countrymen, that Lewis XI. had

forged, so fast, as not to be removed. If at any time the intestine commotions of that nation can be said to have had for their aim the reform of its political government, it was in the minority of Lewis XIV. during the war of the Barricades of Paris, or of the Fronde, as it is also called, between the two parties the Frondeurs, or slingers, against the sticklers for government, and the Mazarins, or adherents of the minister. But the real scope of these troubles was the Cardinal, the question was, who should govern, and not how the people should be governed: The pretext for taking up arms was occasioned by murmurs and discontents on account of the heavy impositions levied on them, the creation of certain new offices, and the retention of the salaries annexed to some old.

THE principle on which Aristotle founds arbitrary governments is, that some men are born to command, others to obey. It is in these states we are to find an uniformity of character and manner. Honour, the principle of that in view, has stamped a similarity of outward deportment and behaviour on all ranks in the nation, as far as it could extend its influence. This uniformity of manner is contributed to by the little propensity shewn by the natives, to travel into foreign countries, whence prejudices and partialities arise in favour of their own,

to the exclusion of the customs of others. Montefquieu and Beccaria may be consulted on the principles of honour, whence flowed that fanaticism, it was tainted with, displayed in the enthusiastic spirit of chivalry, derived from our Gothic ancestors, that in the dark middle ages pervaded Europe.

THE King's edict, after registration in the Parliaments, is a general law; the registration has the effect of promulgation. If the Parliaments should, on any occasion, refuse their consent, and the King persists, he holds a bed of justice to enforce registration. The bed of justice is well termed, as in it justice sleeps. In 1770, the Parliament shewed a spirit of opposition to registering the edicts, which was soon stifled.

THE form of criminal process sounds harsh to a British ear: It is conducted before the Reporter and Greffier; the depositions are committed to writing very much in the terms the discretion of the Reporter dictates, who often biassed and prejudiced in his report, so influences the judges, whose decisions are founded on it. The first interrogatoire, or confronting of the witnesses with the criminal, is in prison; the second in court, immediately before the passing of judgment. The trials are carried on in secret; with shut doors. The accused is confined to

prison during the trial, till the close, when the evidence against him is in his hearing read, the deponents confronted with him, to furnish him with an opportunity of confuting them.

THE trial by jury, with all its train of legal solemnities, opens another scene, affords other protection to the liberty, lives and property of the British subject. His innocence is presumed to the very last, till the return of the verdict : The French prisoner's guilt is presumed from the beginning, from the first moment of his commitment. From these opposite presumptions of innocence and guilt, arise the opposite offices of the judges in the two countries, in support of the one and the other. What a contrast too do the *habeas corpus* act, and the *lettres de cachet* form to each other ! The repulsion between non-electrics is not stronger than between them, nor differed more in value the armour of Glaucus and Diomed. The sentences of the judges so formed are liable to be canvassed by the King, in whom in effect resides the judicial, together with the legislative and executive powers. It requires but the acquittal of a prisoner by the Grand Chamber of the Parliament of Paris, to serve as a prelude to his exile ; it requires but a condemnation by the same high tribunal to precede a pardon. In the delegated authority to the judges, the King has divested himself

but of the shadow of judicial power, retaining the substance.

ANOTHER gross perversion of justice meets us in the venality of the employments; the office of supreme judge in civil and criminal affairs, that of Lieutenant General, is bought and sold with no other qualification, than some weeks study of the laws, without any regard to merit or talents, and so acquired, is transmitted to heirs.

To fill up the measure of injustice, there is the torture, that monument of ancient Gothic barbarous legislation, called the judgments of God, the ordeal, or proofs by fire and boiling water, and the trial by battle. Nor is the absurdity greater in the one case to suppose, that the links of that eternal chain, which reaches from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven, that connects the first great cause with the creation, should every moment be shaken and disordered by the frivolous ordinances of men; than in the other, is that of the problem, put with such masterly irony by Beccaria, in discussing this subject, more for a mathematician to solve, than a judge. *Data la forza dei muscoli, e la sensibilita delle fibre di un innocente; trovare il grado di dolore, che lo farà confessar reo di un dato delitto.* In both modes of probation, it is the operation of physical

external causes, that is resorted to, and not the free unbiassed act of the will ; and were it even so, still there is this further cruelty, as well as contradiction in them, that the same person is at once the accuser and accused ; that an innocent man is treated as guilty before conviction, till which time his innocence is to be presumed, and that he cannot but be a loser, while the guilty may be a gainer. Such, and many more, are the evils that this writer, in the most masterly manner, describes as flowing from this pretended criterion of truth, which, with indignation, he terms the criterion of a cannibal, which the Greeks even practised, which the Romans reserved for their slaves only, who were deprived of all personality, thus supporting one barbarous practice by another, but which the enlightened nations of modern Europe have exploded ; and, in his encomium on them, it is, in a peculiar manner, he pays the tribute of applause to the glory of English letters, the English superiority in commerce, riches and power, their examples of virtue and courage ; which concurrence of happy circumstances, can leave no room to doubt of the excellence of their laws.

WHAT adds to the calamities attendant on such jurisdiction is, that the sufferings are not confined to the object of its vengeance, but the families are involved in the ruinous consequences, and branded

with infamy; a cruel prejudice flowing from the high sense of honour entertained by that people, as inherited from their German ancestors, joined with the result of that rude legislation, common to them with most nations of antiquity, mentioned by Homer, and other writers, which ordained the composition for crimes. These compositions did not affect the criminal only, but with him included his relations.

IN confiscations for crimes, to the King belongs the liferent escheat, or escheat of immoveables; to the Seigneur the single escheat, or that of moveables, in opposition to the principle of humanity, that should give to the nearest relations the right to both, and forbids the involving, as with us, of the innocent and guilty in one common fate.

THE feudal Lords, together with a criminal jurisdiction, still retain the emoluments arising from the fines of alienation of the vassalage lands, the entry of heirs, the marriage of the eldest daughter; which casualties of superiority shew the feudal system to be still in great vigour there.

THE provinces north of the Loire are governed by their own municipal customary laws; in those south of that line, the civil law prevails: The one

are called the pays de droit coutumier, the other de droit écrit. Anciently the Loire was the line of division of the kingdom into two parts, Languedoc north of it, and Languedoc south. The different districts throughout the provinces have their peculiar laws, to the amount of a hundred and eighty five different kinds, owing to the former divided state of the kingdom, that occasioned the loss of its liberty. The inhabitants of Languedoc speak a distinct language, composed of French, Spanish, and Italian : In lower Brittany, formerly Armorica, the inhabitants descended from a Welsh colony, established there, still retain a dialect of the Celtic tongue. There are still some remains of the Serfs ; that species of slaves ascripti glebæ spread through Burgundy, Brittany, and other provinces. This King, after the example of most of his predecessors, gave freedom to those of his demesnes, in which he has been followed by several Seigneurs.

THERE is a gradation of appeals from the Seigniorial Courts, through the King's, up to the Parliament of Paris ; and, in the last resort, from it and the other parliaments to the King in council.

APPEALS are to our parliament in the last instance ; and such are all those concerning civil affairs within the kingdom : And it is only in questions originat-

ing in the foreign settlements, that appeals are made to the King in council in the last resort ; which is a deviation from the free principles of the constitution, arising from the necessity, the extent and distance of our dominions impose. In them the reins of government must be drawn somewhat tighter : In proportion to the extent of free states, their liberty diminishes, which is another powerful argument against their extension, in addition to what is urged on that head. A modern political writer remarks, that such states, the least of all others, share with their colonies the freedom they enjoy themselves ; and carries his observation still further, as drawn from the history of the ancient republics, in asserting, that they are the most oppressive to them.

* * * *

As the Roman Catholic is the religion of most absolute governments, an examination into the nature of it may not be misplaced, after that of the government we have been canvassing ; and if the political state of that country labours under such defects, its religion contributes to augment them.

In religious worship the soul should spring upwards to the object of its adoration in a free animated tone of rapture, a zealous fervor, pious enthusiasm : All excess in external pomp and parade,

all superfluous observance of rites and ceremonies, superstitious reverence paid to idols and images, serve but to retard it in its flight, to damp its wings when in the height of soaring, when most it should be exerted in spiritual contemplation, fixes it low down, prostrate and grovelling before mere sensual objects, graven images of earth and stone. Such a mode of worship is incompatible with the purity and refined simplicity of true religion, subversive of its end and design. Nor other is that established by the Church of Rome; which in the multiplicity of its objects resembles the polytheism, and in the servile homage paid to them, the idolatry of Pagan antiquity. This servility and bondage is a direct violation of the second commandment; from a conviction of which, it is almost entirely suppressed in their prayer book, and so transposed and mutilated both in the prose and Latin verse, as to have lost sight, in great measure, of the letter and spirit. In this shape it is committed in an unknown tongue to the people, and the bible, in which the commandments are left entire, is to be found in few hands but the priests.

In vindication of the worship of images, it is contended, that such a lively representation, submitted to the senses, is with a view only to quicken the intellectual conception of the objects they are symbo-

lical of, and to whom alone, and not to those their earthly representations, the adoration is directed. Nor other than this was the foundation on which the ancient Egyptian mythology rested.

THE taste is well known, which all antiquity, sacred and profane, Greek and Barbarian, had for parables and allegories. The Greeks derived their mythology from Egypt. Among the Egyptians, the hieroglyphic characters were the chief, not to say the most ancient manner of writing. The word is of Greek extraction, compounded of *ἱερός καλυπτω*, signifying the covering or throwing a veil over the sacred rites, and for that purpose adopted by the priests. These hieroglyphics were the figures of men, birds, animals, reptiles, and the different productions of nature, which were emblematical of the divine attributes, and the qualities of spirits. Thus they worshipped the onion, as typical of the solar system, the ox of the divinity, and so the sun and moon: The river Nile, and animals, on account of the utility derived from them. In the sacred commentary of the Persian rites, the words ascribed to Zoroaster, breathe the purest Theism. ' But soon they fell off from the worship of the Eternal invisible God, to that of the sun, fire, dead men, images, as the Egyptians, Phoenicians, Chaldeans, had done before. Sir Isaac Newton's Chronology, page 48.

THAT symbolical system was founded on a very ancient opinion, that the universe is but a picture, representative of the divine perfections; that the visible is but an imperfect copy of the invisible world; that there is consequently a secret analogy between the original and the copies, between the spiritual and corporeal beings, and their properties. That manner of painting words, and giving a corporeal substance to the thoughts, was the true source of mythology, and all the poetic fictions: But in process of time, particularly when the hieroglyphic was changed into an alphabetical and vulgar style, mankind having forgot the primitive meaning of those symbols, fell into the most gross idolatry. The obscurity in which all was wrapt by the Priests, the veil anxiously thrown by them over the religion of the times, contributed much to its degeneracy.

BUT the poets degraded all, in giving way to their imaginations: Their taste for the marvellous, led them to make of theology, and the ancient tradition, a chaos, and monstrous mixture of fictions, and all the human passions. Some of the historians and philosophers of the latter ages, not conceiving the spirit of the allegorical theology, and misled by the letter, ridiculed both the mysteries of their religion and fable. Such imperfect fragments of the

ancient theology, as are left us, show, that these hieroglyphic and symbolical characters, were typical of the mysteries of the invisible world, the dogmas of the most profound theology, the heavens, and the appearances of the gods. Orpheus and the other mystagogues, or those to whom the theological mysteries were revealed, in what fragments remain to us of theirs, discover a pure Theism. Among the philosophers, Socrates, and his disciple Plato, were Theists in their divine speculations.

THE Phrygian fable invented by Æsop, warns us at first not to take it literally, since the actors which it represents speaking and reasoning, are animals void of speech and reason. Nor does it appear more why the letter of the Egyptian fable should alone be attended to. The Phrygian fable exalts the brute nature in giving it soul and virtues: The Egyptian fable appears certainly to have degraded the divine nature in giving it body and passions.

THERE seems nothing in this deduction, but what is applicable to the modern worship of images; and lukewarm must that zeal be, that by such representations is to be awakened and animated; faint must be that fervor of devotion, that is so roused and excited to pious transports, holy raptures. The Ro-

man priesthood has its resources in hieroglyphics as the Egyptian had : The Latin Vulgate serves to throw a mystical veil over the pure light of the Gospel, impenetrable to the eyes of the vulgar, thus dimmed as they are. The Reformation introduced the study of the Scriptures in the original languages, the Greek and Hebrew, for the purposes of discovering the true texts, and subsequent promulgation of them in the native languages of the respective reformed states. Thus the twofold ends of religion and learning were at once answered.

THE Churches, public streets throughout all the towns in the country we are speaking of, all the roads leading to them are crowded with images and crucifixes, that seem to await in some more enlightened days, the rough reforming hands of the Eikonoclastes. What can be more offensive to the eye of reason, to the purity of worship, than to see the relics and mangled limbs of saints imitated in cast metals, arranged on tables in the middle of the churches for the multitude to kiss, on laying down their charity, without order or common decency in their appearance.

To carry this disquisition a little further, nothing could be more pure and spiritual, than the system of the ancient metaphysics. The metaphysical spe-

culations of the Pythagorean school, as delivered to us in the writings of Plato and Aristotle, were of the most refined intellectual nature. They instruct us, that ~~us~~ or mind pervades and animates the whole creation, visible and invisible, from the highest animal substance to the lowest species of matter*.

THIS system of philosophy is comprised in the eight lines following from l. 220. B. iv. Virgil's Georgics. Hence the poetical fictions of the Naiads, Dryads, Hamadryads, Oreads.

ARISTOTLE'S Nature, and the doctrine of Second Causes, conspire to support this theory. In the elements there is a vivifying principle, that actuates them in a gradation upwards from the more gross to the purer, the earth nourishes the water, the water air, air fire. A fifth element, what they termed the quintessence, Aristotle attributed to the human mind. Tusc. Quest. l. i. Of it Milton says, P. L. B. iii. l. 716.

And the ethereal quintessence of heav'n,
Flew upwards spirited with various forms,
That roll'd orbicular, and turn'd to stars.

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* The same notions, Cook, in his last voyage, from the relation of Omai, informs us, prevailed in Otaheite, and the neighbouring Society Islands.

IN vegetables, there is the same ascending scale to be traced from the root to the trunk, from that to the branches, thence to the leaves and blossoms, up to the fruit. Nor does nature ever cease from her silent workings, and infallible operations, nor ever intermits her burning of incense, pouring of perfumed libations on the earth's great altar, that in columns up to heaven's gate ascend. Nor are these incessant odoriferous sacrifices ever clogged or retarded by masses of inert dead matter, as the corruption of one thing serves but to the generation of another; as all earthly things are in perpetual rotation; as the earth itself in its diurnal and annual motions round its axis, and round the centre of attraction; as the seas floating on its surface in a constant flux and reflux, or in succession, as wave succeeds to wave.

MALE and female are to be traced in every stage of the creation, from the two great lights that rule the day and night, through all the degrees of the animal and vegetable worlds. And these degrees are so imperceptible, the transition from the one to the other so gradual, not only within the avowed limits, but at them, as to render it most difficult, if not impracticable, to ascertain them, and draw the line, so imperceptible to human conception: is the superior excellence, or

distinguishing qualities of an oyster and the sensitive plant. Nothing seems more indisputable, than that human reason, finite in all its conceptions, in its speculations, should prescribe to itself certain determinate bounds, within which it is modestly to retire, as within its entrenchments: Inattentive to this precaution, it is involved in inextricable labyrinths of doubts and perplexities, and plunges into depths of mysteries that it is unequal to the investigation of. Certain it is, that whatever may be the result of such enquiries, if they are indulged in, whatever fate may attend the system of ancient metaphysics, there is no inference to be drawn from it that can impeach the modern system of Newtonian philosophy: For whether it is from a principle implanted in bodies themselves, actuating them, termed *vis*, or whether it is the physical laws of necessity imposed and acting on them, it is incontrovertible, that the periods and motions, the limits of time and space ascribed to them in the performance of their several functions, and revolutions, by its sublime and enlightened truths, are uniformly adhered to. It is only the terms in the modern philosophy that the ancient metaphysics impinge on; such, for instance, as that fifth property of bodies, the *vis inertiae*, or their passiveness and inactivity; but the effects imputed to all are left entire, whatever se-

condary causes produce them, which the first Great Cause in his unfathomable ways and infinite wisdom has drawn a veil over, to conceal from human sight. From the want of the comprehension of this property in attributing force to rest, from the hypothesis, that the Author of nature preserves always an equal quantity of motion in the universe, flow the errors of the Cartesian system. In no instance did the profound author of the modern discoveries encounter so much doubt and difficulty, as in his attempt to account for the universal principle of gravitation, in having recourse for its solution to a subtile elastic ethereal fluid.

IF the religion of antiquity, when in its purest state, attributed too much to body, (though not more, it would seem, than that of modern times this disquisition is directed to) its metaphysics has probably gone into the other extreme, of attributing too much to spirit.

THE history of religion, from the remotest times, forms itself into three leading systems, Paganism, the Jewish Dispensation, and Christianity. The belief of a future state of rewards and punishments is common to all of them : The two first have reference to civil institutions, the last is calculated

for a future state. There are many points in which a remarkable analogy is to be traced between the heathen mythology, and Jewish history and religion. The Pentateuch, or five books written by Moses, contain most of the features of resemblance. The golden Age is what answers to the terrestrial Paradise—the war of the Giants corresponds with the fallen Angels rebellion—Noah's flood with Deucalion's—the wisdom of Solomon with that of Socrates—the strength of Samson with that of Hercules, and the wives of both instrumental in their tragic end. Jephtha's rash vow, and Idomeneus's, bear a resemblance, as also the fatal consequences attending the circumstance of Orpheus and Lot's wife looking back.

THE Greeks, and other nations of antiquity, that reached refinement and civilization, derived these from the lights of revelation shed on the Israelites, if not through the channel of the original source, by direct correspondence with the chosen people ; at second hand, by means of their communication with the Egyptians and Phœnicians, between whom and the Jews, there ever were close connections formed, and a frequent intercourse opened. Hence the above analogy, the faint notions, and imperfect shadowings of the im-

mortality of the soul and a future state, framed by the Theists, Plato, Aristotle and Cicero.

ALL tendency to Pagan idolatry is expressly forbid the Israelites, in the second of the commandments delivered to them from mount Sinai, by the holy Author of their religion, through the mediation of Moses; whose mediation is typical of that of our Saviour; but there the resemblance ceases, as Moses did not lead the chosen seed into the promised land, it was only permitted him to see it: It was reserved for Joshua to conduct them to it, who, in name and office, is figurative of Jesus.

THE law, in general, is typical of the gospel; the gospel is the completion of the law and the prophecies, with the rites and ceremonies retrenched, which were instituted with a view to make the Israelites forget those of the Egyptians. It must therefore have been only in the days of degeneracy and apostasy, under either of the dispensations, that all species of idolatry, all worship of graven images, was resorted to. In its observance of feasts and fasts, forms and ceremonies, establishment of the different orders of the Priesthood, the Romish Church resembles much the Jewish discipline. But let it be remembered, that in the Jewish

Church, the ceremonial supplanted the moral part; let the Romish beware, lest the same means it is furnished with, do not lead to the same end. It was the ceremonial part our Saviour came to abolish, not the moral. He came to fulfil the law, not destroy it; the moral precepts remained in their full force after, as before his coming.

WHAT can be a stronger proof of the defects of the worship in view, than the doctrine of Transubstantiation? in virtue of which, the elements of bread and wine, which in the Sacrament of our Church, in conformity to our Saviour's injunction, we use as symbols of his body and blood, are actually converted into them, and their real presence is believed in. This conception of the sacrament, instead of that pure, refined spiritual idea affixed to it in the Reformed Church, is consonant with the worship of images, and adoration of the Cross, as enjoined by the Council of Trent; the adoration of saints and angels, the veneration of relics, visitation of sepulchres, pilgrimages, &c.

THERE is as great a difference in the number as in the quality of the sacraments of the two churches, the reformed retaining but two, baptism and the communion, out of the seven of that of Rome, bap-

tism, confirmation, the eucharist, marriage, order, penitence, extreme unction. These with their doctrine of purgatory, and other exploded tenets, their sacrifice of mass, sale of indulgences, with all their train of absurd and degrading circumstances; not to mention their auricular confession, holding forth pardons by proxy, of which such a traffic has been made, have all in their several turns been so much canvassed, occasioned so keen controversy, been the subject of such a detail of polemical divinity, as to render any further comments on them superfluous. What can be more presumptuous, than to inculcate the doctrine, that God has given to the Church, what he has only reserved to himself, the power of hindering or pardoning sins. Their giving the Holy Ghost, that most mystical, most purely spiritual part of our religion, a corporeal form and substance; their leading it in procession, their falling down before its image, is all in the spirit of idolatry.

THE intolerant spirit of this persuasion, what fatal consequences has it not been attended with, both to Church and State? The best blood of the nation has streamed by it in the field, and on the scaffold. The tragic pages of its history are filled with the most dreadful accounts of the wars, murders, massacres, assassinations it has occasioned,

rising in a progressive series of cruelty, up to the massacre of Paris, that *ne plus ultra* of bigotted barbarism. The three Henries, *viz.* the Third, Fourth, and Duke of Guise, from whom was named one of the civil wars, in which they headed three different parties, the Royal, Huguenot and League, into which the kingdom was torn, all, with many Princes of the blood, their rivals and adherents, suffered violent deaths. It was with fire and sword that Christians contended with Christians, brothers with brothers, one branch of Christianity extirpated another; nor other treatment did the persecuted Huguenots meet with from their intolerant brethren, than did the primitive Christians at the hands of the Pagans.

WHAT and how many are the miseries that the abuse of religion has brought on mankind, from the earliest records of time? Not long after the establishment of our religion did the intolerant spirit betray itself in the Crusades that exhausted Europe, laid waste Asia, and, in the midst of the devastation with fire and sword, displayed the banners of Christ, and erected the Cross. No sooner was it reformed from these and such abuses, than to regain its old extent of empire, recover what it had forfeited, it laid open the same scenes of bloodshed in Europe, it had before in Asia, and on the ruins of the Crusades

erected the most barbarous tribunal that ever stained human nature, the Inquisition.

THE edict of Nantz was the toleration of France; the revocation of it was the banishment of the Huguenots, and with them, of their arts and manufactures to England, Holland, Germany, Prussia, and other Protestant states. By which bigotted policy, France lost in trade and population, what those other countries gained. Notwithstanding the repeated and violent persecutions this unfortunate class of men have so tragically experienced, there are still many of them in Normandy and other provinces.

How much the cause of true Christianity must suffer from the excesses of the Romish Church is obvious. It is not less so, to what extent the State must, considering them in a political view, in the expenditure of such an immense annual revenue, as is requisite for the support of this religious establishment, consisting of so many magnificent edifices, ornamented with such profusion of rich paintings, organs, gildings, carvings, statuary, plate, incense, wax-lights; then the long line of the priesthood, with all their pompous trains, and display of robes; add to this list, that of the religious houses, the monasteries, and convents, with their proportional de-

tail of corresponding ornaments, and the numerous orders of the regular clergy secluded from the world and worldly occupations, all enjoined celibacy. Commerce and industry sustains another severe check in the frequent commemoration of saints, and celebration of festivals. Thus, in a twofold view, the Church is a heavy burden on the State, in the waste of its treasures and population.

NOR does it compensate it with the lights it throws on its government, or the arts and sciences. From the servility of its worship, the subjection it keeps the reason under, the austerity of its manners, the gloom and severity of its discipline, it aids and supports the arbitrary will of the Monarch, and depresses genius: And but for a few productions of literary merit, not proportioned to the very great numbers, that might devote so much time and leisure to them, the state, or republic of letters, have reaped but little benefit from the labours of this description of its members. The regularity of the monastic life, the austerity and moroseness of manners, the rigid discipline, the gloom of the cloisters, impenetrable to the sun's rays, are unfavourable to the cultivation of genius, the growth of the arts and sciences. They were more calculated for what was the occupation of their inhabitants, in the middle ages, the copying the va-

luable remains of ancient learning; and much do we owe to those labours, as without them perhaps the riches of antiquity had been lost. Each well endowed monastery had an apartment called the *Scriptorium*, and the monks employed in it transcribing, proved the means of the preservation of the precious monuments of antiquity, conveyed to Europe first through the channel of the Saracens, afterwards of the Crusades. But those, that then laboured so successfully for succeeding times, did not know how to turn to advantage their own labours: Their legends, chronicles, monkish rhymes, scholastic treatises, are far from being composed on the chaste models they had before them. Nor have their successors in office, been, in general, more fortunate in reaping the fruits of their industry.

THE Greek language is far on the decline in that kingdom; it is banished the cloisters, the schools, colleges, almost all the universities, except that of Paris, and even there, the living languages are more attended to by all the Noblesse, without exception, and, in general, by the professional men. Nor can there be a more infallible symptom of the decay of learning, and all true and genuine taste for the arts and sciences. This neglect, in which the Greek lies, joined with the want of the liberty of the Press, that great advantage we enjoy over

them, is enough to stifle all their efforts of genius in the birth. The manufactures of the country did not suffer more in the proscription of the Huguenots, than its literature has in the expulsion of the Jesuits. That society, always distinguished for its classical learning, has found a retreat in the Prussian and Russian dominions. In Henry the Fourth's time, they were banished the kingdom, but in a few years recalled. The Council of Trente took them under its protection, and the Gallican Church, which maintains the authority of the General Councils, to be superior to the Pope's, and at the same time denies his infallibility, had recourse to him to issue his bull against that society, in direct violation of the protection afforded it by that superior power it owns. Of the Council of Trente, it is to be observed, in general, that it is not received in France. It has its authority, in respect of the Canons, that regard the dogmas and faith, but not in relation to the decrees that regulate Church discipline. In virtue of the Pragmatic Sanction, and Concordat, the Gallican Church, under the protection of the King, is, in a considerable degree, independent of the Pope. The King presents to the benefices, and the Pope draws the first year's revenues of them, the Annates, though very low rated, to the detriment of the State, in a political view.

IN the Greek Church, far in the decline of the Eastern Empire, the idolatry was gross, and the abuses enormous. There too, as in the West, the spiritual power often prevailed over the temporal; and the Patriarchs of Constantinople, in the authority they exercised over the Eastern Emperors, when, in the tumults, they fled to them for protection, and they opened their churches, as sanctuaries to receive them, imperfectly shadowed out that exorbitant power, which the Popes of Rome were afterwards to usurp over the Emperors, and other temporal Princes of the West.

THE Schism between the two churches, that memorable event in history, had its rise, in no more important affair, than a dispute about precedence, which the Patriarch of Constantinople claimed over the See of Rome. That great difference had been settled in a Council held at Constantinople, under the Emperor Theodosius, but from time to time the pretensions were awakened: At length, the eunuch Photius, intruded in the See of Constantinople, in the room of the Patriarch Ignatius, having found a favourable occasion, renewed them; and well aware that he could not obtain the precedence, sought only to render himself independent, which he effected in separating from the Church of Rome; which separation was styled the Schism

of the Greeks. Photius experienced great reverses of fortune, for the See of Constantinople was not, in those times, more firmly established than the Throne. He died in exile. His death served only to suspend the schism, not to extinguish it. It was often renewed, till such time as the Latins engaged in the Crusades had made themselves masters of the Greek Empire : It was then, that the Emperor Baudoin, having procured the election of a Latin Patriarch, reunited the two Churches. That reunion had but the same duration with the Latin Empire, and ended after a period of 55 years, when the Emperor Paleologus, having retaken Constantinople in 1261, withdrew afresh from the Communion of Rome. That renewal of the schism was of long continuance, and was not terminated till 1439, at the Council of Florence : Still that reunion, which was but founded on the dependence that the Greek Emperor had on the Pope, was disavowed through all the Empire, and faintly was effected : But then was the last state of the religion in the East, which was almost extirpated on the taking of Constantinople in 1453, by Mahomet II.

THIS is the history of the above memorable event, given by writers. The Greek Church is

established in the Russian, in parts of the Ottoman Empire in Asia, and Europe, and part of Poland.

THE chief sources of division are the denial by the Greeks of the Pope's supremacy; the real presence; the procession of the Holy Ghost; of Christ's suffering in any other than his human nature, in conformity to the Socinian tenets. Sir Isaac Newton's history of the two texts of scripture, the Three in Heaven, God manifested in the Flesh, may be referred to. The two Churches differ in their Sacramental bread, as the Lutherans and Calvinists do, the former using unleavened, the latter leavened. The officiating in the Sacrament of Confirmation, in the Latin Church confined to the Bishops, is, in the Greek, extended to the inferior orders of the priesthood. These are the most essential grounds of difference, the others relate more to forms and ceremonies.

THE Latin Church is far on the decline, and but the shadow of that Papal power is now left, which, with the thunders of its spiritual artillery, its bulls, interdicts, and anathemas of excommunication, once shook Christendom. The losses it sustained at the Reformation, in the defection from its allegiance of so many and so powerful Potentates, it has never

recovered; its authority is much impaired over those who remained firm in their allegiance in so general a revolt. Instead of the Emperor, as of old going to Rome to pay homage to the Pope, the Pope we have seen seeking an interview with the Emperor at Vienna. The Emperor also we have seen begin the work of Reformation a second time, as did the first in England, in the suppression of the religious houses. It remains to be seen, whether his example will be followed by other Roman Catholic powers, and whether a second Reformation will originate in Germany, as did the first.

How conformable, in some respects, must the sentiments of the members of that Church be to those here entertained, when an author, under its influence, could express himself in these terms: "The saints were not honoured, nor their images revered, in the first ages of the Church, because the aversion entertained for the then reigning idolatry, rendered circumspection necessary in a worship, the precept of which was not sufficiently formal, to avoid the scandal and contempt it might occasion in those days." The same writer compares the canonization of the saints to the apotheosis of the heathen Heroes and Emperors.

IF, at first sight, too much acrimony should appear in this disquisition, it will be lessened on the reflection, that its sole view is a vindication of Protestantism, in bringing to the test of reason, some of the bigotted and superstitious tenets of that Church, which, with principles so uncharitable, zeal so intemperate, spirit so intolerant, in this world keeps no faith with, in the next, consigns under the denomination of heretics to everlasting punishments, without the hope of pardon, or repentance, all indiscriminately, of whatever persuasion, that are without its pale.

THE scope of these reflections is far from impeaching toleration, the fairest flower of cultivated humanity. The reverse, it is with peculiar satisfaction, that in a nation so tolerant as this, it is acknowledged, that the only exception to that mild spirit of charity and benevolence, that, in religious controversies, has guided its councils, is removed with the necessity that gave rise to it. It is only to be regretted, that that work of Reformation was not attended with more general influence; and that a distinction was made in it between the southern and northern banks of the Tweed. In a political view, the waving such a distinction was desirable, as nothing is more favourable to an extensive population, than a general toleration: Nothing is more

inviting to strangers to reside among us, or encouraging to natives to stay at home. What general and bad consequences have flowed, in both these respects, from this single exception to toleration; what numbers of foreigners have been deterred by it from settling here; what numbers of British subjects, forced to emigrate hence, to seek in other lands that employment and preferment denied them in their own! So far as the toleration is not general, it is attended with these impolitic consequences; and further, with this the widening the difference between the laws of the two parts of the island: The more they are assimilated, the stronger the union of interests will be cemented. Some of the leading points towards such a happy event, might be an entire correspondence on the subject here canvassed, an exchange of the Habeas Corpus Act, the inestimable privilege, the trial by jury, in extent and quality, as exercised in England, for the registrations of Scotland; and, as much as might be, the refining the Aristocratical principles of the one constitution into the Democratic of the other.

DISTINCT as the two parts of the island are in their civil institutions, they are not less so in their religious, in the manner the Reformation was introduced in them, and the effects attending its introduction. In Scotland, the same furious zeal broke out, and

gratified itself in the demolition of the magnificent cathedrals, and other edifices of worship, as appeared at Constantinople, on the decline of the Greek empire, under those Emperors that were styled Eikonoclastes, from the encouragement they afforded the breakers of the images, worshipped by the regular clergy. As the means, in that part of the island, used in the propagation of the Reformed religion, were so extravagantly wild, so the end proposed in them was the extreme of departure from the Church of Rome, in the adoption of Calvinism, or a species of it, Presbyterianism. Lutheranism, as modelled in the English worship, may be considered as a proper medium, a refined simplicity between the two extremes, the excess of simplicity of Calvinism on the one hand, and the excess of pomp, the abuse of forms and ceremonies in the Church of Rome, on the other.

WHAT of order, what of dignity in the latter, what of harmony and sublimity, in the full voiced choir and pealing organ, may awaken rapturous devotion, raise in us what is low. it has retained; but exploded all that idolatrous worship of images, with all its train of pompous parade and form, useless show and ceremony, so unsuitable to that decent fervour, that unaffected simplicity of worship, in which we

are to lift our thoughts to the Divinity, that before all altars does prefer the pure and upright heart.

TAKEN in one point of view, the Church of England Lutheranism is more analogous to the civil constitution of Scotland, which is Aristocratical, owing to the dignities, the different ranks and orders it has established ; and the Calvinism of the Church of Scotland corresponds more with the Democratical state of England, on account of its levelling principle. In another point of view, the present distribution is better ordered ; that Church, which bestows on its dignitaries rich benefices and endowments, being allotted to the richer country ; and that other, that, in its excess of simplicity, is contented with stipendiary ministers, belongs to the poorer people. No Reformed Church is near so well endowed as that of England. By a very accurate account, it appears, that, in 1755, the whole revenue of the Scottish clergy, including their glebe and church-lands, the rent of their manse, estimated, according to a reasonable valuation, amounted only to L. 68,514 : 1 : 5 $\frac{1}{2}$. So moderate a revenue affords a decent subsistence to 944 Ministers. Including the reparation of churches and manse, the whole annual expence did not exceed L. 80,000 or L. 85,000.

It is to be regretted, that the Revenues of the English Church are attended, in so great a measure, with those bars to improvement by tithes ; or that a modus, and that a very moderate one, is not a general law in the exaction of them. They are the chief sources of the disturbances in Ireland.

THE attempt, in the middle of last century, to extend the same mode of worship, the Episcopal persuasion, over the whole island, proved fatal in its consequences both to Church and State, and produced a quite opposite effect to what was intended, in rendering the Presbyterian the common religion, on the ruins of Episcopacy. It is, in general, to be observed, that, in the absolute governments, Popery prevails, the Reformed religion in the free States.

R E M A R K S

ON THE

ENGLISH CONSTITUTION.

Compared with the Roman, and other Ancient and Modern Republics.

THE freedom of the Constitution of England, in Church and State, is what it eclipses all the nations of Europe in, modern or ancient. Its political state, in its admirable combination, has been so much investigated, so thoroughly understood by natives and foreigners; the balance of the three estates of Parliament, the Monarchial, Aristocratical, Democratical, the due equilibrium they so exactly preserve, their mutual checks and controls, the happy arrangement and distribution of the three powers, the legislative, judicial, and executive, have all been so excellently displayed,

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that, after Blackstone, De Lolme, and Montesquieu's elucidations of them, it would prove an arduous task, the offering any thing new on the subject. The French writer has barely drawn the outlines of that inimitable picture, which the Swiss has given in all its native and genuine colours.

THE legal and constitutional prerogatives still remaining to the Crown, after all the successive sacrifices made of those usurped by the Tudor and Stuart race, are so great, as at first sight, to appear incompatible with a limited, and more calculated for an absolute monarchy. The king is to be viewed in a double light, as Sovereign, in his legislative capacity, and Supreme Magistrate, in his executive. As without his consent and sanction, no law can be enacted, he is entrusted with a discretionary check on the proceedings of the two legislative assemblies, in his negative voice : The control is great, and the frequent or unconstitutional exertion of it would be liable to the most dangerous abuse ; it is therefore so rarely resorted to, as not to have been once instanced this century. The contrast is most striking between the nature and exercise of this prerogative, and the Roman Tribunitial Veto.

HE is the source of the judicial power—the fountain of honour, the superintendent of commerce—he makes war and peace—sends and receives ambassadors—makes alliances. He is, in addition to all this assemblage of power, fortified by the maxim, that the King can do no wrong; which implies that he is above the ordinary administration of justice, that his ministers are responsible for malversation in office, for mal-administration. In all these sources of power, such as carried to excess might prove most dangerous to the constitution are the most anxiously guarded against by it.

WITH respect to the first of these enumerated, the office of Judge, originally, was during the pleasure of the Crown, the writs bore, *durante bene placito*, and were afterwards changed to the style of *quamdiu se bene gesserint*; or during the faithful administration of the office. Still the Judges were too much under the influence of the Crown, as long as on the demise of the King, their continuance in office, depended on the will of the successor. An act therefore passed in the beginning of the reign of George III. rendered the office independent of the demise of the King, and its duration not to be at the discretion of the successor. No regulation could be better devised than this, to

secure the independence of the Judges, to divest them of the awe of undue influence, in the regular discharge of their duty, the impartial administration of justice. The Courts they preside in are the King's, they are of his appointment, and the judicial writs run in his name ; but further, there is no interposition of royal authority : If the King is involved in any question with his subject, he is to repair to the tribunal of his Judges, there to await their sentence.

THE prerogative vested in him, as the author of titles and dignities, is more discretionary, less circumscribed. As the branch of the legislature, it has reference to, is possessed of the least weight in the State, as the balance of the constitution, chiefly resides in the Lower Assembly, there is the less danger attending the discretionary exercise of this power. Any restraint put on it, would prove more hurtful to the equilibrium of the state machine, than any temporary abuse of it. Hence the vain and unconstitutional attempt of the Lords, in the reign of George I. to limit their own numbers, and the rejection of the bill passed by them with that view by the Commons, who could not submit to the shutting the door of the Upper House on themselves.

On our commerce, so much of the national prosperity depends, so much of the revenues of the State, that every individual in it, from the King downwards to his poorest subject, has a particular interest in its encouragement, and any measures of the King, as superintendent of it, of an opposite tendency, would not only have the effect to diminish one of the chief sources of his power and riches, but besides, would spread such an alarm, as to call for the interposition of Parliament.

THE command and disposal of the sea and land forces, the discretionary power of making war and peace, seems the prerogative of the most dangerous and alarming nature. But when it is considered, that the raising of the funds that are to supply these forces, whether in war or peace, is no part of the same prerogative, but the peculiar privilege of the Commons, in Parliament assembled, our fears begin to vanish. So watchful over this important privilege, so jealous of it have the Commons been, as representatives of the people, holding the purse of the nation, that not satisfied with money-bills originating in their House, they will not suffer the smallest amendment to be made to them by the Lords, but, without examination, reject them, and anxiously guard

against every precedent, that might lead to such an encroachment. The Peers never drop their pretensions to such a right, and nothing but the excessive vigilance of the other House, could prevent their exercise of it. The Commons, availing themselves of the importance of this privilege, were formerly in the practice of tacking other bills to the money-bills, to secure their passing. But the Peers, in their turn, have put an end to that practice, who never attend to a bill so presented to them, whatever its merits may be. And here we have a striking instance of the balance of the component parts of the Legislature, in which lies the main spring of their equilibrium, of that principle that regulates them in their actions and re-actions.

Now are these the only safeguards against any unconstitutional exercise of this prerogative. On the navy, the people rely, as the source of their national existence and prosperity. But the army is viewed in a very different light, and with the most jealous eye. Nothing but the necessity of the case could reconcile them to it in any shape, or on any terms: The necessity arises from the constant and uniform practice of the other nations of Europe, that keep up so large standing armies, and constrain us to do the same, for the maintenance of

our independence. Still our army differs from that of all the other surrounding states, nor like theirs, can it properly be called a standing army, as it only subsists from year to year, and the question at the commencement of every session of Parliament, is not whether it shall be continued, but whether it shall be renewed. The funds for its support are annual, as well as itself, they arise out of the land and malt taxes. The Mutiny Bill likewise, for the discipline of that army, is annual: So that every year it is annihilated, every year created. And in the event of any bad use being made of that army, any one branch of the Legislature voting for its discontinuance, is all that is necessary for attaining the end. During its temporary existence even, it acts in subordination to the civil power. Thus, formidable as the prerogative, this reasoning is directed to, at first sight appears, on the review of it, it has its control, and is reduced to its fixed and determined limits. These precautions were rendered necessary by the dangerous precedents established by Charles and James the II. the one in having guards to the number of 4000, the other in the establishment of a regular standing army.

WITH the fears attending this prerogative disappear, on examination, those that arise from the

power inherent in the Crown to dissolve, prorogue, reassemble parliaments. If the necessities of the State, the wants of the Sovereign, are not sufficient inducements to call together that assembly, as, from the above exposition, it appears they are, still there is another legal remedy, and resource to resort to, in such an event, an act passed in Charles the Second's reign, that provides for the meeting of Parliament once at least in three years. The House of Commons have not only the power of settling the quantity of the supplies, but the ways and means of raising them, and before granting them, they can take a review of the State, and redress grievances. If the Crown was to be altogether dependent on the Commons for the supply of its occasional wants, the counterpoise it forms to the popular influence on the constitution, would be too much weakened. It is therefore regulated that, at the beginning of every reign, a certain sum annually is allotted by Parliament, during the King's life, to defray the expences of the civil list: In George the Third's reign, it was raised from L. 800,000 to L. 900,000. But previous to this grant, it may take a review of the constitution, examine the abuses that have crept into it, correct them, provide remedies, and preventatives in future, enter into a renewal of the compact between king and people, and by such means bring it back to its first prin-

ciples, an expedient so often fruitlessly tried in the Roman State, the attempt of which proved fatal to the Gracchi, and such virtuous citizens.

GREAT as are the prerogatives of the Crown, they are not without their checks and controls, without their counter-balancing privileges ; and are found, on investigation, to be such as are peculiar to a limited monarchy ; which, with all its limitations, is left possessed of as much power, as is compatible with a free and well regulated state. A remarkable instance of its power De Lolme takes notice of, more likely to strike a foreigner than a native : It is the disgrace and removal of the Duke of Marlborough from all his places and employments, in the midst of his victories, and surrounded as he was, by so great and so well affected allies, his companions in them. He contrasts the success of that measure with the conduct of Hannibal and J. Caesar, in similar situations, the one carrying on the war so long in Italy, in opposition to the Councils of the Senate of Carthage ; the other marching with his army to Rome to enslave it, in contempt of the authority of the Senate, in defiance of the imprecations vented on his head, in that famous *Senatus consultum* still to be seen engraved on a stone, in the road from Rimini to Cesenna, which devoted to the infernal gods, declared him sacrilegi-

ous and parricide, that, with a legion, an army, or cohort, should pass the Rubicon *.

THE unity of the executive power contributes to its great influence. As number and time are essential requisites to deliberation in legislative assemblies, so dispatch is to the execution of them, which unity, in the power entrusted with it, is chiefly conducive to. The only instance in our history, where we find it divided, and the legislature usurping a share in it, in the troubles of Charles the First's reign, the immediate consequence was a civil war, and in it a total overthrow of the constitution. Nor less fatal consequences sprung from the division of it in Rome, and the other ancient republics. The high dignity, and splendor annexed to the Crown, with the addition of strength it derives from its being entailed on, and hereditary in the reigning family, the very great distance, the highest subject is viewed in, in comparison with the superior lustre it sheds, all form such a happy train of circumstances, as to free us at once from all the dangers attending an elective monarchy, more agreeable to theory than practice, all the ambitious views, aspiring designs of popular leaders, factious and seditious Demagogues, evils that Rome constantly experienced.

* The boundary of his province of Cisalpine Gaul.

WHAT popular leader in the House of Commons, aspires higher than a place in administration, during the King's pleasure, or a seat in the House of Lords? Or what member of the House of Lords aims at any higher dignity, than his hereditary title gives him, there where he is placed at so awful a distance from the throne? If ever any more aspiring thoughts that pointed at the throne, could have entered the breast of any citizen, with any prospect of success, it was at the Revolution, as never was there a fairer opportunity to gratify them, than then presented itself.

ON the other hand to the unity of the executive power, to its sole and undivided state, we are to attribute the several limitations it has received; at once tracing up to the same source both its power, and the controls of it. It being one and entire, the reverse of a complicated nature, it is the easier comprehended: As such, it has been familiarized, subjected to the eyes of Englishmen, ever since the foundation of their monarchy. Having so long known what it has been, it is long too since they have known what it should be. Upwards of six hundred years ago, they began to set bounds to it, and in the spirit of liberty, said, So far it shall go, and no further: From the day they began to the present, they have never desisted from reforming it,

more exactly defining its nature, more precisely ascertaining its proper limits.

THERE is the same reason and necessity for the resolution into parts of the legislative power, that there is for the unity of the executive. Their mutual checks and controls, their action and re-action, like the due mixture of concords and discords in music, conspire to the general harmony. The great question touching the source of legislation, in assemblies composed of parts, was never so well resolved, or so happily decided, as in this constitution, and that diametrically opposite to what has been its issue, in all other free states, ancient and modern. In all other such states, it has originated in the lesser assemblies, and the propositions there canvassed have received their sanction in the greater. At Athens, the Council of five hundred deliberated, the people decided. At Rome, the Consuls proposed, the people resolved. The same errors have crept into, and prevail in the States of Venice and Switzerland. In the former, the Grand Council of the Nobles prepare the business for the Senate. In Holland, the deliberations of the States General are canvassed in the Councils of the separate provinces. In the Parliaments of Scotland, the Lords of the Articles, proceeding on the same defective principle, prepared all the bills for its discussion.

BUT in England, this arrangement is completely inverted, where the House of Commons, the representatives of the people, the most considerable branch of the Legislature, in point of weight and numbers, is the source of legislation, from whence it ascends, through the House of Lords, in the second instance, to the Royal authority, in the last resort, where resides the power of simply approving or rejecting, without that of altering or amending.

NOR are the messages, sometimes sent by the King to the Houses of Parliament, any exceptions to this rule, as they are not obligatory, only recommendatory; the discussing of them is discretionary, and if entered on, it is on the motion of some member; nor does the King's name appear on any resolutions that may be formed, in consequence of them.

WHAT is proposed by the many, is most likely to be for the good of the whole; what by one or a few is, with the same probability, directed to partial and sinister ends, repugnant to the interests of the community. Thus does the British Legislature, in its structure, order, and gradation, resemble a pyramid, whose broad foundation rests in the representative body of the people, terminating gradually

through the medium of the Peers, in the spiral point, the executive power.

NOTWITHSTANDING all these precautions taken in the modelling Parliament, the best that could have been devised by human means, there would have been a palpable defect in the constitution, and room for the intrusion of the most flagrant abuses, had not the judicial power been kept distinct. If the framers of the laws had also been the interpreters, what a perversion of justice ! But far otherwise, the decision of the laws remains with others than the framers ; who, equally with the whole nation, are subjected to them, a powerful incentive to the framing only of such as are good.

THE judicial power is lodged in the people assisted by the judges. The trial by jury, that our oldest, and best legal institution, as old as the days of the great Alfred, has there vested it. No other nation ever had it in the purity the English have, and such as had it in any shape, have lost it. In Scotland, where it is retained, it is quite differently constituted from what it is in England. It is there confined to criminal proceedings, and a plurality of the jurors voices only is requisite in the verdict. In England, it is alike resorted to in civil and criminal cases, the jurors are judges of law and fact, and in

judging of them must be unanimous. In the supplementary assistance the people derive from the judges, in the exercise of this power, they are to look for the utmost light and integrity; their eminence and distinguished abilities insure the one support, their full security and independence the other.

With this power of judging of the laws inherent in the people, there is another most important one, that of judging the lawgivers themselves. For that purpose, there is septennially an appeal made to their tribunal, where the representatives of their chusing must appear to answer for their conduct; those that have faithfully discharged their duty, to be rechosen; those that have abused the trust reposed in them, to be replaced by others, of whom better hopes are entertained.

WHAT descriptions of men are admitted to pass on this great periodical inquest of the nation, may be seen from the following short state of the qualifications that entitle to vote for members of Parliament.

FREEHOLDS under the Crown, and Lords of manors, to the extent of forty shillings, entitle to vote. There are two kinds of customary tenants under Lords of manors, certain and uncertain; those of

either description, if they have lands tithe-free to the extent of forty shillings, are qualified to vote. It is of no consequence what the modus or composition was they paid for their tithes, however small, if they now are tithe-free to that amount, they afford a sufficient qualification, on this medium, that the tithes are of so much older institution, than the feudal tenures. It was about twenty years ago, that this point of the free tithes was first litigated, and decided in favour of them, in some of Lord Lonsdale's contested elections, which formed a very important epoch in the English constitution, as till then no customary tenants, whether their fines were certain or uncertain, under Lords of manors, could vote.

A LEASE hold for life, of forty shillings of yearly value is a qualification.

TENANTS, in ancient demesne, vote: Copyholders do not, though it would appear, the above rule of free tithes, by parity of reason, is applicable to copyholders, as well as to customary tenants.

THE qualifications for borough elections are more complicated and various. Freemen, or those admitted to the freedom of the corporation, have a right to vote. Besides these, such of the inhabitants

as rent houses, in some boroughs, to the amount of L. 10 a-year, paying scot and lot, as it is termed, or contributing to the poor-rates to that extent, are entitled to vote. The same qualification often enables to vote for members both of towns and counties, as in the preceding case of one having the freehold property of a house in a town of the above value. A mortgage on such a property does not prevent the right of voting. How far this rule extends in the English constitution, is not said. It regulates the election of the town of Leicester, one of the oldest in England, and probably it is applicable to several others, though not general. The same limitation is to be understood of the rule scot and lot. In some boroughs, pot-boiling qualifies to vote, so very democratical is the constitution of this country, and governed by such variety of rules.

WRITERS seem in general to agree, in reducing the different species of tenures to three in number, but differ in the appellations given them : Some denominate them freeholds, copyhold, and leasehold ; others adopt the term custom instead of copyhold.

FROM which diversity of terms, it would appear, that copyhold and custom are synonymous, though that is not generally allowed. One distinguishing

mark lawyers point out is, that copyholds may be entailed, customary lands may not.

THE qualifications of the voters of Scotland shew the Aristocratical spirit of the constitution of that country, contrasted with the Democratical of England. It is there four hundred pounds Scots of valued rent, holding of the Crown, or forty shillings of old extent in county elections. In those for the boroughs, the Magistrates in Council elect.

As an additional corroboration of the popular barrier, the censorial power, arising from the liberty of the press, is vested in the body of the people at large. All arbitrary Magistrates, such as censors and dictators, evince the radical weakness in the constitution, that is reduced to the necessity of having recourse to them. Montesquieu entertained high notions of the censors tribunal erected in ancient Rome, not aware that it was the means employed by the Senate for the further extension of its authority. Sir Thomas More, in his *Utopia*, is against the free discussion of the conduct of government, on pain of capital punishment. Sir Edward Coke bestows high encomiums on the Star Chamber, for the restraints it put on the press. After the suppression of that court, the Long Parliament continued the restrictions, as did Charles and James II.

and even after the Revolution, they remained four years, when the Parliament refused its assent to their further continuance ; since which time, the liberty of the press has been fully established.

As the last in the order of succession of the important privileges derived to the subject, it crowns them all, renders them all more effectual, and none more so, than the immediate preceding one, the right of election. It is by this free and open communication of the public sentiments, and censures of men and measures, that the people are made acquainted with the state of the nation, with their protectors and betrayers ; that, of course, they are enabled to avail themselves, with success, of their septennial lustrum, so infinitely preferable to, and widely different from the quinquennial lustrum of the Roman censors : Not only that, but in waiting its periodical returns, they are furnished, in consequence of it, with never-failing resources, armed at all points with infallible weapons of defence against the attacks of arbitrary power.

THIS inestimable privilege is to be used, not abused : The liberty it confers on all, is by none to be suffered to degenerate into licentiousness, and, in the excess of licentiousness, to give vent to scurrilous invectives, defamatory libels, to which there are le-

gal punishments annexed. It is to be observed, however, that all attacks on Government, even such as are groundless, are attended with less risk than those aimed at individuals. The measures of Government are to be more narrowly watched, and closely inspected, more jealously canvassed, than the actions of the subject, whose reputation is protected with the same anxious care, by the laws that guard his life, and secure his property.

THE citizens of Geneva enjoy a right of preferring remonstrances, or representations to the magistrates, to which they are obliged to give answers, they are followed by replies, and these in their turn by answers : every renewal of address to the Magistrates, is attended with an increase of numbers, as they appear to be founded in reason. To this Censorial privilege, De Lolme attributes the preservation of his countrymens liberties, more entire than those of the other Swiss Cantons, as it operates as a remedy, not only of past abuses, but preventative of future, and serves as a powerful control on the conduct of the Magistrates. The objection that appears to lie against it, and distinguishes it from ours, arises from the numbers and confusion attending the exercise of it, consequently the danger of its being productive of scenes similar to those of the tumultuary petitions, that ushered in the troubles of Charles the First's reign.

OUR address to the public is more cool and dispassionate, free from the contagion of factious example, the intoxication of party, riot, and sedition, so readily caught from numbers. It is the result of reason, and sober reflection, made at that distance, and in that point of view, whence objects are seen in their true and just proportions; and if it does not stand the test of reason, and come up to the standard of truth, it falls to the ground. It is the power of acting in the people at large, more than the very acting, that operates as the great and constitutional control on Ministers. Collectively set in motion, they are as bodies that ferment. The power of so acting collectively, produces better effects, as a preventative of mal-administration, than the exercise of it often does, as a remedy. Ministers stand in awe of that great tribunal, before which they appear for their justification, where the eyes of the people are fixed on them, to watch their conduct that is liable to scrutiny and censure, from whatever quarter it comes, or from all quarters at once.

To punish embezzlement, or misapplication of the supplies to other purposes, than those they were voted for, there lies an impeachment against the Minister, at the instance of the Commons, before the Lords.

ADDED to the singular advantages on the popular side, the liberty of the press confers, there is the right of petitioning either House of Parliament, or the Crown, and the right both the Houses have of addressing, petitioning, and carrying up remonstrances to the Throne.

IF this assemblage of great and powerful constitutional barriers, the result of the collected force of the wisdom of ages, should prove too weak to resist the concealed or open attacks of arbitrary power, which is a violent supposition to make, in such a case of extreme necessity, in the last resort, and as a last resource, resistance is to be had recourse to by the people ; appeal is to be made by them to the God of arms and of battles. As in all civilized States, there must be government, under whatever form, whether of Democracy, Aristocracy, Monarchy, or a mixture of the three ; and as all government consists in the sacrifice of natural liberty, as that is sacrificed only to civil liberty, which presupposes the least diminution possible of the natural, and that in conformity to known and fixed laws, a violation of that original compact, that binds societies in one common bond of union, is a resolution of government into anarchy and confusion. The exercise of an usurped authority, and lawless power, is war levied on the subject : The subject is

to oppose force to force ; and the only remedy, left for their defence, is in resistance. It was resistance that laid the foundation of our liberty in the Great Charter ; it was resistance that completed it at the Revolution, that memorable æra, when, if before implied inherently in the rights of the people, it was avowedly recognized, as a legal remedy founded on constitutional principles ; and the original tacit contract between King and people, declared to be broken, a renewal of it was made in express terms, and in it a sanction given to this right. The same language is held by Locke, in his Essay on Government, who lived at the time of that important event : The same by Blackstone, in his Commentaries on the Laws of England, B. i. ch. i. p. 140. The maxim of *Vox populi, vox Dei*, of *Salus populi suprema lex esto*, are in support of the doctrine, that has been echoed back to us by him, of that other land of liberty, who has shed so much light on this. Equally great with the aid acquired to the right of election from the liberty of the press, is that which the right of resistance derives from it, as the most certain and expeditious means of spreading the alarm through the nation, of effecting a general union in it, the more to insure its success. As intimately connected as the liberty of the press is with the British Constitution, so incompatible is it with an absolute government, and for

the same reason it is adopted in the one it is excluded in the other, and such restrictions substituted in its stead, as our Star Chamber formerly imposed.

ROUSSEAU affirms in his *Social Contract* ch. xv. a work, which he himself confesses, was undertaken without consulting his strength, and long since abandoned, that, though the people of England think they are free, they are much mistaken; they are only so during the election of Members of Parliament; no sooner are they elected, than the people are slaves—they are nothing. It is inconceivable how such a notion could have been entertained by a writer, that had arrived at any degree of eminence; and after entertaining it, still more, how he should have given it to the public so crudely digested. It cannot be better combated, than it is by the irresistible force of argument of his fellow-citizen, who clearly evinces that the author of the treatise in view, neither knew the Constitution of England, that of the ancient Republics, or the principles of government in general, that could suffer himself to be betrayed into such a wild and extravagant paradox. He was a stranger to that undoubted axiom, and fundamental principle in politics, that the government of the many, resolves itself into that of a few: He was not aware, that

when state affairs are left to the decision of the multitude, it is the same as if they were left to that of chance, to the drawing of lots, or throw of the dice, a mere matter of hazard. The people, collectively taken, have neither leisure nor abilities for the discussion of political subjects, they must, therefore, be under the guidance of others, in the resolutions they come to on them. Independent then of the state tricks in Rome, imposed on them by the Censors, by the Augurs, in respect of the omens, the various accidents of time and place, the white and black days, the flight of the birds to the right or to the left, not to mention the stratagem so often practised, of the falsifying the votes, it required not the power of a Cicero or Demosthenes to influence them ; for every factious and seditious demagogue could produce the same effects, make the same impressions in their popular harangues, that a Cicero or Demosthenes could. But this is not all, the voices of either description of orators, though possessed of Stentorian lungs, could not reach beyond the limits of audible sounds : so far the impressions they gave might go, but no further, beyond that it must have been received but at second hand, every remove from the source weakening its force, till gradually dying away, it came at last to be totally lost in the extremities of the circle. Supposing then the harangue of these popular lead-

ers to be addressed to the passions, and not to the understanding, as the most likely to be calculated for such an audience ; supposing them too (which is not a more violent supposition, as it is taken from the general complexion of human nature, such as it is to be found in all ages and countries) to betray the trust reposed in them by the public, where private views do not co-operate with it, and, in preference to it, study their particular interests, where they are found separate ; or again, supposing them to blend the two, the public and private interests, and in a number of proposals offered to the public, having the one undoubtedly more at heart, and using the others only as masks to conceal the main designs : In all these suppositions, then, and all of them highly probable, the original impression given is bad, and every remove from it is still worse, and more weakened, as in each it receives fresh glosses and interpretations, according to the biases and inclinations of the various recorders, till gradually so effaced, it at last is not felt at all ; consequently, great part of the hearers are misled in the conception they form of the propositions before them, and still greater is misinformed of them, and the greatest of all is ignorant of, and so prepared, decide on them.

THE people's right of voting, first reduced to mere forms and ceremonies, was at length altoge-

ther annihilated. When Demosthenes formed his speech, and corrected the impediments in it on the sea-shore, he familiarized to his eyes the agitations of popular assemblies, in those of the waves, both often equally ungovernable beyond the reach and power of his eloquence. The passions of the multitude are easily excited, their very numbers contribute much to the effect. Once moved, the contagion spreads by communication. All orators possessed of address, skilled in the knowledge of human nature, in large popular assemblies, speak to the passions of their hearers, through the passions to subdue the understandings, from the heat of imagination, and glow of enthusiasm, rather than by sober appeal to the judgment, through the medium of reason, which loses its effect, has no influence on the mass of the people collected together. Truth requires but a light to shew it the way, in order to follow: The passions stand in need of a fire to kindle, so as to rouse them to action. The raging of the sea, and madness of the people, are figuratively speaking synonymous; the stilling of both alike is the effect of Omnipotence; the helm of the ship, in the one instance, is often of no avail, and reason too often in the other; passion, and not reason, operates on the multitude. Impressions made on it are as those made on a smooth body of water, where circle succeeds to circle; the stronger the near-

er the centre, the weaker the further removed from it, till at last gradually diminishing they wear away, and dwindle to nothing.

THIS reasoning is applicable to Democracies in general ; but what was the fate of that of Rome in particular ? That state, in the first revolution it effected from the dominion of its kings to the consular government, exchanged but one absolute master for more, became an aristocracy. But, to deceive the people, and reconcile them to the new form of government, it was provided, that the fasces, or those symbols of the power of life and death should only be carried before one of the Consuls, lest the terror of the Romans should be doubled, as Livy expresses it. In this first stage of reform, the first idea that presents itself, is a confusion of the three powers, the legislative, executive, and judicial, in the Consuls and Senate. If in after times of the republic, they ever were divided, though more diffused, still they were confused, and the limits, never accurately drawn, still less observed.

AFTER the three memorable secessions, when the people had fully established their power, and the better to guard it against the encroachments of the Senate, they had raised to themselves the Tribunes,

in imitation of the Ephori of Sparta, they little or nothing improved their condition. The order observed in Legislation was the reverse of ours, it originated in the highest department of the state. What the Senate there proposed was submitted to the Tribunes, who each separately had their negative; and if by accident they were unanimous, the decision of the people, in their collective capacity, was resorted to, in the last instance, the least capable of either originally proposing, or finally ratifying any question of moment. Ill calculated as they were to legislate in affairs of the greatest consequence, legislation eluded their most vigilant search; if they seized on it with the hundred arms of a Briareus, it escaped their grasps under the hundred shapes of a Proteus. It was thus the Senate usurped the power of levying taxes, when, at the siege of Veii, they first gave pay to the soldiers. The people, dazzled with the allurements, in the overflowings of their gratitude, flocked to the Senate in numbers, seized the hands of the senators, as they came out, calling them Fathers and Benefactors. In the effusions of their joy, they were not aware of the invasion of their right of legislation, and that in the tenderest point, the disposal of their property.

THE Tribunes, whose duty it was, did not undeceive and protect them from the sacrifice; they even connived at the Senate's usurping the power of both dispensing with and abrogating the laws.—At length after the expulsion of the Decemvirs, the Plebiscita, or resolutions of the people in their Comitia Tributa, had the force of law; which was an aggravation of the disorders of legislation, as, added to all these evils, it was now undivided, and all attempts to a balance of parts lost. The same order was observed in the election of the Kings; the Senate appointed a Magistrate of the Inter-regnum, who elected them; it was necessary that the election should be confirmed by the people, according to Dionysius the Halicarnassian.

THE Tribunes were never more zealous or unanimous in any measure, than that, that had for its object their admission to all the great offices of the State, those of Consul, Dictator, Censor, and others, and that removed all distinction between Patricians and Plebeians as flattering most their private views. Raised so high, they now thought that a step higher would put them at the head of the State, and in their rise began to disdain subjection, embroiled affairs, sacrificed the good of the whole to their private ends; from the people's favourites and benefactors, became, in their turn, their op-

pressors, the objects of their jealousy. The Senate encouraged the ambitious schemes of the most popular and enterprising among them, invited them into their order, to a participation of their dignities, to detach them from the popular cause, and leave it the more defenceless. But other pretenders to popular favour, though more biassed to Patrician honours, soon succeeded: And the evils meant to be obviated, in their exaltation, were but increased by the remedies applied, they were perpetual and remediless. What sets the radical defects of this Commonwealth in the strongest light, is the frequent recourse to the violent and desperate remedy, the creating a Dictator, or vesting one of the Consuls with Dictatorial powers. He was without control, above all law, suspended the functions of government, and at his feet was laid the republic. This extraordinary remedy, and every other resorted to, proved, at most, but temporary palliatives, totally ineffectual to bring back the state to its original principles, defective as they were. The Gracchi fell sacrifices to that vain attempt in the restoration of the Agrarian laws. Montesquieu's usual penetration seems to fail him where he admires the Roman government for the power inherent in its constitution, from its commencement, of constantly correcting abuses, either by the spirit of the people, the coercion of

the Senate, or the authority of certain Magistrates. It is in that particular he contrasts that state with Carthage and Athens, the one unable to reform, the other unwilling to remedy its errors. In the same point of view, he also contrasts it with the modern republics of Italy, which, instead of boasting of their perpetuity, ought only to boast of the perpetuity, of their abuses. Grandeur Decadence, chap. 8. He seems to be in a similar error, where he considers the usurpation of the Decemvirs as the only suspension of liberty in the Roman republic. It, from its foundation to the dissolution of the empire, was constantly tossed and agitated in extremes, convulsed and shaken by cabal, faction, party-divisions, civil broils, intestine wars, the objects and names of them in the different stages, only varying; at one time, the contest for power being between the Patricians and Plebeians; at another between Sylla and Marius, and under the Emperors, the source of contention between the Blues and Greens was often a favourite Actress or Eunuch, *de lana sæpe caprina*. He is equally in an error, where he says, ch. x. that the force of the constitution preserved Rome in the midst of its corruption; and in general it may be observed, that the great defect in that treatise is too great an admiration of that constitution, and too little knowledge of its defects.

THE fate of the Gracchi leads to the discussion of that other power, the Judicial, where it was lodged, how executed? It was lodged every where, and faithfully executed no where. The Consuls had the absolute power of life and death; the Dictators, the Senate, and its Judicial Commissioners, the Prætors, the Tribunes of the people, the same. The Knights were at last admitted to a share of this power, the abuses of which were enormous; instanced how repeatedly in the multitude of citizens thrown headlong from the Tarpeian rock. That partial justice, that connived at the murders of the virtuous Gracchi, and upwards of four thousand of their followers, let a Verres and a Piso escape. The same perversion of justice pervaded the empire from one extremity to another. Italy was up in arms on account of it in the Social war; there were every where combinations.—The Mithridatic war, the most severe Rome ever experienced, was bloodily marked, in its opening, by the massacre of eighty thousand, by some accounts, by others a hundred thousand, of the people, in the cities of Asia driven to despair, and revolting against the cruelties of the Proconsuls.

AFTER these dismal details, the corruption and tyranny of the public judgments in Athens and Sparta, would be misplaced, though in these states

also they were carried to great excess. In the early times of the Republic, the Tribunes, to check the abuse the Consuls made of their absolute power, in Judicial proceedings, when there were no fixed laws to regulate them, were the means of the creation of the Decemvirs, for the purpose of introducing into Rome from Athens, the laws of the twelve tables. The Senate, in yielding to the measure, submitted to the suspension of the Consulship, in order to free themselves of the Tribunes, with them of the people, and all control of their authority. But, to the disappointment of their views, the Decemvirs, availing themselves of their unlimited sway, trampled on the rights both of Senate and people, in open violation of the laws they framed, and the time prescribed to the duration of their office. The mutual jealousy of the two orders, that gave rise to these tyrants, and deprived each of them of the means of controlling them, suffered a temporary relaxation; and they conspired to effect their expulsion; that no sooner done, than it revived, to produce the most fatal change in the state, the giving the force of laws to the Plebiscita or resolutions of the people on the propositions made to them by the Tribunes in their *Comitia Tributa*. This was the stratagem they used to obtain their private ends, and complete the sacrifice of the people's interest, in the levelling all ranks and distinctions,

and procuring their admission to all the offices of executive power. To effect a division of it, an union of the legislative took place, the very reverse of all true policy, and the judicial power was arbitrarily exercised, whether before the existence of the twelve tables, at the time, or afterwards. The Romans then had no law, consequently no liberty, all was anarchy and confusion. The principles of the constitution were bad ;—every attempt to bring it back to them proved abortive, and every successive revolution tended to make them worse, as all superstructures raised on a false foundation must quickly decay. Nor other was the fate of the revolutions in Athens, and others of the ancient republics.

In England, they have ever been favourable to liberty, and attended with an addition of strength to its cause, except where the people were disunited, as in the civil wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, that preceded the accession of the Tudors to the throne ; and in those in Charles the First's reign, when, added to their divisions in conformity to the Roman policy, their representatives were made independent of them, of the executive power, whose functions they usurped, and confounded with it the legislative.

IN the period that elapsed from the end of the third Punic war to the subversion of the republic by Cæsar, it was singular how the office of judges under the Prætors fluctuated between the Senatorial, Equestrian and Plebeian orders ; sometimes shared by them all three, at others divided between the two first. In the times that preceded that period, it was engrossed by the Senators. The appeal to the people in criminal judgments, which of right belonged to them in the regal state, and throughout the republican form of government, notwithstanding the many confirmations it received, was totally disregarded. The laws defective in themselves, those of the twelve tables, bloody too, as flowing from a bloody source, the Athenian Draco's, were still more bloodily executed ; or rather, in the public judgments and executions, there was a violation of all law. The capital punishments were aggravated by every species of cruelty, such as throwing the citizens headlong from the Tarpeian rock, hanging them on a cross, scourging them to death, with the head between the branches of a fork. The slaves were put to the torture, that refinement of cruelty practised by the Greeks. The dreadful calamities flowing from such a perverted system of things were irretrievable, every attempt to correct them was ineffectual, they increased, with the advancement in years, and size

of the republic, which if in its best days so radically defective, as without resource, or possibility of recovery, to be so overwhelmed with their influx, its degeneracy served only to inflame the malady. And when, in its degenerate days, the source of justice was so corrupted, as in the very centre of the state, to cause the revolt of all Italy, how tainted must have been the streams flowing from it; every remove from the seat of empire to the most remote provinces must have received an increase of contagion. In Sicily, so little removed, what pathetic representations does Cicero give of the frauds, corruptions, extortions, rapines, plunder, consummate cruelties of Verres, yet all connived at by the judges, and left unpunished. The bare relation at this distance of time makes human nature revolt; yet at the time of their actual commission, and under the eyes of the Roman citizens, the powers of such eloquence, joined with the truth and notoriety of the facts, could not rouse the public indignation against them. Nor other was the state of Piso's government, or of all Asia, that in a day massacred throughout its cities, as has been observed, eighty thousand Romans, to glut its revenge for the cruelties exercised on it. An order of the Senate to Paulus Æmilius, as recorded by Plutarch, was to sack and destroy unawares, at a stated hour, seventy populous cities; in consequence of which bar-

barity, an hundred and fifty thousand souls were sold to the highest bidder. Augustus pardoned the cruelties of his Governor Herod, who steeped his butchering hands in the blood of the Innocents, and at one stroke of the whole Jewish Sanhedreim. With the inveteracy of the miseries consequent on these enormous abuses of the judicial power, kept pace those of the legislative, and for the same reason in both, the original defect in their constitution, the disorders of which increased with those in the human frame, from the inroads of luxury, acquiring additional violence, in proportion to the growing extent of the commonwealth; and if, when confined to the walls of Rome, or to a small territory round them, in the nature of things, the elections and legislative assemblies could not have been other than seditious tumultuary concourses; how much more so in the later centuries of the republic, when all Italy was admitted to the privileges of Roman citizens, and all Italy flocked to the Forum, if it could find admittance there, to decide on state affairs, but not as constituent members of a regular civil government, but as in a state of war, its fields deserted and uncultivated, citizens armed against citizens, with each side their leaders, their decisions were marked with bloodshed, the Forum strowed with their dead bodies.

THE spirit of family at Rome, which, with the power of life and death it gave fathers, was like an imperium in imperio, and repugnant to the spirit of liberty. In the same manner, the tolerance of slavery, in the very heart of the state, familiarised the eyes of the citizens too much to it, and contributed also to prepare them for that abject slavery they themselves were one day to be subjected to, and from habit trained them up to cruelty.

THE fall of Rome Montesquieu attributes to two principal causes, the greatness of the empire, and of the capital. The radical defects in the constitution were extensive in their ruinous consequences, in proportion to the extent of both. The eye of the ruling power could traverse, the hand, in which it was lodged, could reach the limits of Italy, but not beyond the Alps, and across the seas. The armies at such distances were not the armies of the republic, but of Sylla and Cæsar: They were devoted not to the republic, out of their reach, but to their general at hand. From the extent of the empire, he draws this reflection: "What causes free states
 "to be of shorter duration than others is, that
 "the misfortunes and success they experience, are
 "alike detrimental to their liberty; which, in a
 "despotic government, alike confirm the peoples

“ submission. A republic wisely administered
 “ ought not to risk any thing which may expose it
 “ to good or bad fortune : The only good it ought
 “ to aspire to is the perpetuity of its state.”

By analogy of reason, passing from the extent of the empire to that of the city ; if in it the people, acting in their legislative capacity collectively, occasioned such disorders, as in the infancy of the state, when almost confined within the walls of the city, were attended with such dangerous symptoms, what were then, or in its still further extent, but tumults, riots, and seditions, were turned into civil wars, when the privileges of Roman citizens came to be equidistant with the boundaries of Italy, and each state had its separate leader and protector, who, as his ambition directed, led whole towns and nations to the forum to disturb the suffrages, and confound the elections. What he says of the laws of Rome, are more applicable to those of Britain, as those of Rome were neither so well framed, and wholly perverted in their execution.

CICERO, on the same subject, says, that the greatness of the Roman empire was more owing to the weakness of its enemies, than its own internal strength. It is true Montesquieu says, that the laws of Rome became unequal to the government of the

republic ; but it is a thing that has constantly happened, that good laws, which have been the cause of the aggrandisement of a small republic, become a burden to it, when it has reached its grandeur, because they were such as might naturally make a great people, but not govern them. There is a great difference between good and suitable laws ; those which make a people masters of others, and those which are to maintain a power once established. An overgrown extended empire is reduced to this alternative, a total inability to support itself by the same means it rose, and if it changes, by any different system of government. But it was by Roman policy, not Roman laws, by the maxim, *Divide et impera*, and similar ones, that the world was subdued. This reasoning is strictly applicable to British legislation, when the trial by jury, that its chief ornament, was found incapable of being transplanted to the Asiatic latitudes. In the British foreign dependencies, the trial by jury, the Habeas Corpus Act, independent judges and councils, limited governors, are all unknown ; in opposition to all these inestimable franchises, the maxim prevails, That the reins of government, from a kind of state-necessity in the remote provinces, must be drawn with a stronger hand than those at home.

IF the evils of our elections have not kept pace with those of the Roman, in proportion to the extent of the two empires, and their capitals, that is owing to the difference of the two constitutions, the representative and collective : And if, from the superiority of ours, they do not produce the same fatal effects in our decline, that they did in that of ancient Rome, yet those riots, seditions and tumults, that were incident to it in the better and more virtuous days of the republic, are now at length creeping into the elections of our metropolis and its neighbourhood, owing to the excess of its size and numbers, as was instanced in the Westminster and Middlesex contested and scrutinised elections.

THE grandeur of Rome resulted from the perpetual state of war it was in ; from its policy, not its laws or constitution ; war without was the only means of securing peace within ; and not always that, for it was necessary, in order to gain that end at last, that the wars it was engaged in should be obstinate, against powerful determined enemies, that called for all its exertions to subdue. Such were the Punic and Mithridatic wars. In their obstinacy and number, they bore a great resemblance ; they each were resumed after three intervals of relaxation, as they may be termed more than peaces. In Mithridates, Rome found another Hannibal, who reconquered

Asia and Greece from it, who, in the various reverses of his fortune, in the midst of the defeats he received from three successive Roman generals, Sylla, Lucullus and Pompey, the treasons and conspiracies of his wife, sons, family and friends, deserted, reduced to the last extremity, exiled from his own dominions, even then formed the daring project of marching to Rome with those barbarous nations that were one day to enslave it.

AFTER the downfall of the Carthaginian state, and consequent rapid conquest of Greece and Asia, is to be dated the first epoch of the Roman declension, in the great and sudden influx of Asiatic luxury. The corruption following on it, first directed the views of the ambitious and designing citizens against the liberties of their country; after the defeat of Mithridates, they were furnished with the means of gratifying them. Then, as there was not sufficient occupation for the arms of the Republic abroad, it was that they were turned against itself at home; when the world furnished it with no more enemies, it became its own. Civil wars succeeded to foreign, and it is in them that superior talents are displayed, talents that in peace would never appear. It is then that Syllas and Cæsars arise, to supplant all rivalry in their fellow-citizens, and usurp absolute power: The chains that

the first of these invaders of the people's right forged, were rivetted by the second, beyond a possibility of removal.

It was after civil wars, those of the House of York and Lancaster first, then those of Charles the First's reign, the only two periods of our history, that our liberties, since their establishment, suffered any sacrifices, and in Henry the Seventh and Cromwell experienced a Sylla and Cæsar. What we gained by unanimity, we lost by division. Two bloody civil wars paved the way for the loss of English liberty, as they did for that of the Roman: But what was but a temporary loss of it in England, was at Rome permanent, and that for the obvious reasons already urged; the Constitution of England had stamina to enable it to recover the loss, that of Rome had not; what Rome lost was fictitious and imaginary, what England, real and substantial.

As there never was, at any period, any balance in the Roman state, and for want of an intermediate third power, to conciliate the perpetual contentions between the Senate and people, it was always agitated and convulsed, in the irreconcilable extremes of their animosities: The people's only resource, in such exigencies, was recourse to some am-

bitious leader, who, if he had power sufficient to protect them against the encroachments of the Senate, had enough also, and never wanted inclination to become, instead of its protector, its master. This expedient has proved the ruin of many states in Greece and Italy, both in ancient and modern times. The Senate's only remedy was the constant employment of the people in war. In the adoption of that expedient of self-preservation, it was constrained to ravage the earth, till it had subjected so many nations, as that their subjection became a load and oppression to itself; and when no more remained for its further dominion, it found it had only by such policy, procrastinated its dissolution, together with that of the State.

THIS was the only nation we know of in history, that improved its finances in war. The richer the triumphs were, the more glorious. By the spoils of one war it was enabled to undertake another, and to go in quest of new empires, as the old were thus disabled to renew the conflict. This policy, with the maxim, *divide et impera*, were the chief means employed in the subjection of the universe. The spoils in war, and presents in peace, were the great sources of its wealth, the funds employed for the enslaving of mankind; and what of the riches

of the world escaped public plunder, private rapine did not spare.

Not to pursue the abandoned and profligate detail of affairs under the Emperors, it may once for all be observed, that, according to Tacitus, *eadem nomina, eadem vocabula erant*, in the decline of the Empire, as in the flourishing periods of the Republic; but the government was the model of the Turkish; what the Prætorian bands were in the Roman, the Janizaries are in the other; and to the Prefects of those bands, answer the Grand Viscers. When Augustus framed laws against celibacy, it was a striking proof of the decline and depopulation of the State. Have not we in a similar situation, recourse to similar expedients?

As opposite as England is to ancient Rome in her government, as opposite as a Representative Constitution is to a popular, not less so is she in her laws, and the execution of them. Not like other nations of Europe, who have borrowed a code of laws, such as they found it, transplanted it into their different states, the growth of an age, and a people so distant and different, England, without any aid from antiquity, formed one adapted to her own people, their genius and constitution. Unlike them, did she receive the feudal laws, engrafted on the ruins of the

Empire, she all at once, they by degrees—she by a sudden influx, they deliberately and progressively: To which system of things, is owing fundamentally, the wide difference in her constitution from theirs. They, on the other hand, have adopted the Roman laws, in the same manner as she did the feudal; but she, unlike them, has rejected the civil laws altogether, as too arbitrary in their principles, and inconsistent with that liberty, she so fortunately had acquired. To the rejection of the government and laws of ancient Rome, she owes the existence and preservation of her civil liberty; to the renunciation of the religion of modern Rome, she attributes her religious liberties, and with them a confirmation of her civil. When the Bishops of that Church, early in our history, on the question of legitimation, proposed the introduction of the civil law into these realms, the Barons, with one voice cried out, *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*. It is confined to Doctor's Commons, the Ecclesiastical and Admiralty Courts, with the Universities, under the control of the law of the land.

HERE again the striking difference meets us, not only between England and the continent of Europe, but between it and Scotland, which has adopted the civil law.

Not a greater contrast is there in the laws of England and Rome, than in the mode of executing them. The torture, so prevalent on the continent, and sometimes formerly resorted to in Scotland, never found its entrance into England. The trial by jury formerly known in the rest of Europe, now lost, is only retained here. The want of the one, and retention of the other, more than amply compensate any trivial defects in the English code, which is still but in its first stage of improvement. As often as the judges were found guilty of a breach of duty, the Legislature, with that vigilance it has ever been distinguished for, invariably interfered to correct the abuses. The Parliamentary history enumerates all the instances of the punishment of the judges for malversation in office; nor are they frequent in comparison of the length of time included. I pass over the short interval of the bloody reign of Mary, which cannot impeach the general rule, when the cruelties exercised were too violent to last. It was then, if ever, that in this nation, the public judgments resembled those of Rome; when it endured the joint loss of both its civil and religious liberties, when, as in ancient Rome, the Star Chamber, and High Commission Courts threw the judicial power into the same mass with the executive, and the legislative was more separated in appearance, than in reality, and, in

fact, all three were centered in one ; when, as in modern Rome, the object of the tyranny was to sub-
ject England to the Papal yoke.

As justice is faithfully and impartially distributed, so is it to be executed in mercy : The British Kings are so bound in their coronation oaths, in the express compact entered into between them and the people at the Revolution. Nor are there any temptations or peculiar exemptions, that might induce the Legislature to relax in the vigilance of its control over the executive and judicial powers in the distribution of justice.

In civil cases the persons of Commoners are free from arrest, during the sitting of Parliament, forty days before, and forty after the session, that they may the better attend to their duty ; but their effects are liable to execution. In criminal affairs, and breaches of the peace, there is no protection for their persons at any time. The difference in the privileges of the Peers lies in the personal protection they enjoy at all times in civil questions.

To close the comparative view between the representative and popular constitutions, and at once exhibit the striking contrast, we need but attend to the wide difference in the duration of the two :

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The representative not only so far surpassing the other in continuance, but continually advancing from strength to strength, every revolution tending in a progressive series to its perfection, with a few exceptions occasioned by the fluctuations and convulsions incident to human affairs in the wreck of time, from which recovering it with redoubled efforts applied itself to the correction of the past, and prevention of the same, or similar errors, in future: It fell but to rise again with renewed lustre. The conclusion to be drawn from this remark is, that its principles being good, were productive of its uniform refinement, up to what Lord Verulam would style its present vantage ground. When we look to the reverse of this, the popular government, contemplate its short existence, the constant sacrifices of law, liberty, peace and order, it was subjected to, and these evils increasing in proportion to its duration, every revolution giving additional force to them, the change from the Regal to the Consular state, having been from one to more absolute masters, with the shadow of freedom only, the substance lost, and at length a relapse under the dominion of one as at first, with this difference only, an aggravation of the servile yoke; that government that was by turns Monarchical, Aristocratical and Democratical, and not all three all at once duly mixed, and harmoniously blended,

found true liberty in none ; it necessarily follows, that, as it was radically ill constituted, the seeds of corruption lurking in it, matured by time, naturally produced the effects described.

LET us now contrast the English constitution with that of the most distinguished modern republic. The civil as well as the religious establishment of Holland, bears a great resemblance to that of Scotland. It is called Aristo-Democratic; but the Aristocracy prevails. The borough constitution of Scotland, and that of the United States, seem to be founded on the same principles, the freemen or burghesses in both countries electing the Council or Regence; and they returning their respective members to Parliament, and deputies to the States-General. The number too of the representatives are nearly the same in both countries, bearing no proportion to the body of the people. Nor are they the immediate representatives of the people, as in England, the people have not the direct chusing of them, only ultimately through the medium of their several magistracies. The equilibrium so lost between the Aristocratic and Democratic branches of legislation, is not better preserved between them and the executive. The Stadtholder, till of late years, was not hereditary; and now, that he is so, may be scarcely said to form a distinct branch in

the constitution, rather the head and presiding integrant magistrate in the deliberations of the States-General. What executive power is lodged in him is merely to give effect to the ordinances of that assembly, under its direction. Our order of legislation is, in that republic, completely inverted; it there originating in the least numerous, most Aristocratic Assembly, the States-General, thence descending and diffusing itself into the various branches of the greater, more Democratic provincial assemblies. Which arrangement has this additional disadvantage of clogging the wheels of government, retarding and obstructing its operations.

THE want of a third mediating distinct power, joined with the intriguing factions of a neighbouring court, is a leading cause of the present contentions. The other two, the Aristocratic and Democratic, without such a balance, fluctuating between the extremes of anarchy and sedition, degenerating into every kind of disorder and licentiousness, the union broken and dissolved, affairs are come to a crisis. Secret influence, political intrigue and cabal, have their full force in such a constitution. In the conflict of contending parties, what shadow of power was in the Stadtholder, he is, at present, stripped of, and in a manner exiled in his own territories. The fortune may

await the House of Orange, that befel that most unhappy family it was connected with, and whose forfeited rights it succeeded to in these realms by one revolution, nearly at the same point of time in the last century, with this day in the present, when, by another, it is threatened with the loss of its own at home, and both ushered in by abdications, since the retreat from the Hague was not unlike that from London. The openings of the tragedies of both families are but too similar. Holland up in arms, affords no other prospect than a bloody termination of its troubles.

SUCH defects in the legislative and executive powers, joined with that capital one in the judicial, the want of the trial by jury, in addition to the restrictions on the liberty of the press, are but unfavourable symptoms of Dutch liberty. And such, or nearly such, is the state of all the republics on the continent termed free, but which are but different modifications of Aristocracies, and for want of the due equilibrium of the three powers, for having but an imperfect representation, are nearly in the predicament of the ancient republics, that had no representation at all, more amused with the appearance, than blessed with the reality of freedom.

THE king of Britain, if he would be a great, should be a patriot king, reigning over the hearts of his people, father of his people, a crowned citizen, diffusing the virtues of a Trajan or Vespasian around his throne, cultivating and cherishing them as the fairest gems of his diadem, the brightest ornaments of his sceptre. He is to listen to the voice of the people, as to the voice of God; to consider their safety as the supreme law. The British Monarch, within the due bounds of law, is more powerful than any other without them. It is the law that constitutes the very great power we have seen him possessed of; and to that law, that gives it him, he may safely entrust the protection of it, as its best and surest safeguard. Not on standing armies could he procure those instruments of all absolute dominion, is he to rely for support, for they will fail him, as they have done his predecessors, but on the loyalty and affection of his subjects. The mutual checks and controls of the two leading branches of the legislature on each other, when left to themselves, will secure him the third, in the free exercise and enjoyment of his just and legal prerogatives. The vigilance of the Commons, on the one hand, that does not suffer the interference of the Lords in their money bills, to amend them, but insists on their acceptance or rejection of them *in toto*; on the other

hand, the jealousy of the Peers, that will not consider any bill transmitted to them, tacked to a money bill, are chiefly productive of that exact equilibrium in the legislation, that prevents the exertion of the negative of the third constituent part of it, the executive power ; of which there has not been an instance in this century.

THESE counterpoises, formed by the different branches of the legislature to each other, receive additional strength from the superintendence of the people, in its collective capacity, over all the three. Besides the great controlling power it is periodically possessed of, over its representatives, to the extent we have seen, it is vested at all times with checks over the three parts of the legislature, in virtue of the judicial and censorial powers arising to it from the trial by jury, and the liberty of the press. Hence this admirable frame of government is as much a democracy as is consistent with liberty. In these inestimable privileges, the British nation is distinguished from all others ; from both the ancient and modern Rome, and Venice, in the liberty of the press ; from the ancient in the trial by jury, from the modern in its retention of it, after its disappearance from among them, if ever they were possessed of it in the same purity. Hence those violent remedies in the states, whe-

ther of a monarchical or republican form, applied to their radical defects, have ever been unknown in Britain. In Rome it was a Dictator, or Consul vested with Dictatorial powers, that was so frequently resorted to; in Venice, the State Inquisition; in France it is the *lettres de cachet*, those secret and dark imprisonments. But in Britain, the constant and uniform tenor of the laws is fully equal to all the functions of government, without any resort to such desperate expedients. There is no instance of any encroachments on the power of the Crown, during any of the minorities, the favourable opportunities, that have so invariably been seized on in other countries, for the execution of such enterprises. At the Revolution, when, by the abdication of the Prince, a convention of the two estates assembled in Parliament declared the throne vacant, not one member in either entertained the most distant idea of filling it, or retrenching from its future possessor any other than the unlawful prerogatives, that so recently had been usurped, or violating the succession any more than the extreme necessity they were reduced to justified.

THERE is a line drawn between prerogative and privilege, on either side of which encroachments from the opposite, must infallibly destroy the balance

of our admirable constitution. If the executive power, entrusted with its negative on the passing of laws, with so many and so great privileges, should be enabled to exercise them by means of supplies raised independent of Parliament, it from that moment would be enabled to govern without it, and so rendered absolute. If again Parliament should assemble, and continue to sit by its own authority, usurp from the Crown its power of calling together, proroguing, and dissolving it, then the representatives of the people would become independent of, and unaccountable to them, and in their turn their absolute masters. They were the mutual transgressions of this fixed boundary, first by the Crown in its attempt to govern without Parliaments; then by Parliament, in depriving the Crown of the power of proroguing, or dissolving it, and assuming it to itself, both attempts alike producing the same effect, the confusion of the legislative and executive powers, that occasioned the fall of Charles I. and with him of the constitution. This is not all; for the further security of the preservation of the equipoise, it is necessary that the executive power should be one and entire, that the source from whence it derives the supplies requisite to the support of its dignity, and the exigencies of the state, should be one also, the branch of the legislature constituted by the representatives of the people. If ever the other le-

gislative body should acquire a share in this important right, as it once made an effort to do, soon after the Revolution, then the Crown will avail itself of the maxim, *divide et impera*, by opposing the one to the other, will weaken the resistance of each to its views, and instead of it, substitute a zeal and emulation for its service. What are now the free grants of the Commons, would then resemble the dons gratuits of the Church, and provincial estates of France.

REMARKABLE instances of the very late improvements made on the constitution are, the office of judge rendered independent of the successor's pleasure, on the demise of the King. Grenville's law, on the model of special juries, for the trial of controverted elections. There was an attempt to support this excellent institution by the bill brought into Parliament last session, enacting the registration of freeholds, and constituting returning officers, official and ministerial, instead of judicial, improvements borrowed from the election laws of Scotland, and proposed to be engrafted on those of England, by which long scrutinies, and such tedious proceedings, as were before the Gloucester committee, would have been most effectually obviated. The bill, after passing the Lower House, was thrown out on the third reading, in the Upper, to be re-

sumed, it is hoped with better success. The suppression of general warrants, among the last, was none of the least advantages derived to liberty.

CONSTITUTIONAL liberty thus secured, privilege so fortified by outworks so impregnable to all open and violent attacks of prerogative, have nothing to fear from that quarter, in such attempts. It is not by storm, or battering engines, that a breach is to be effected in such a fortress: It is by other means, by means of stratagem, by approaches the most regular, in proceeding by sâp, in a metaphorical sense, in a literal, by secret and undue influence, that an impression is to be made on it. To such methods of attack, the degeneracy of the times insures but too great success; and to such an event, in the conception of a modern profound political writer, things are fast tending.

SUCH is the asylum, such the happy retreat, that Liberty, the nurse of noble minds, that propose to themselves noble ends, attainable only by noble means, has found in the sequestered recesses of this her favoured Isle. Long wandering in quest of refuge, she seemed a while propitiously inclined to Greece and Rome. Those states enamoured of her rites, yet to her rites estranged, were not in her mysteries initiated. Scarce shewn to them, her

form eclipsed, her footsteps darkly traced, averſe to the ſacrifices that ſtained the altars raiſed to her, like *Aſtræa*, ſhe left the earth, not to re-visit it but in this fortunate region ; where her worſhip was but faintly ſeen, by the Sages of her ancient fruitleſs votaries, through the thick clouds and hovering miſts of that long Gothic night that intervened. Let us hear what Cicero ſays, “ *Statuo eſſe optime conſtitutam rempublicam ex tribus generibus illis, regali, optimo et populari, modicâ confuſâ.*” *Fragm. de Rep.* l. 2. To the ſame effect, Polybius, lib. 6. ch. 1. in beginning. And Tacitus, *Ann.* lib. 4. c. 33. “ *Cunâs nationes, et urbes, populus aut priores, aut ſinguli regunt. Delecta ex his et conſtituta Reipublicæ forma laudari facilius, quam evenire ; vel ſi evenit, haud diuturna eſſe poteſt.*”

BOTH authors confine their ideas to the mixture of the three forms of government, which Rome, at different periods, paſſed through ſeparately, from the higheſt to the loweſt ; but neither of them had any conception of that peculiarity in ours, the re-ſentatives of the people. Not only that, but Tacitus treated even ſuch a mixed conſtitution as merely viſionary, more conſonant to theory than practice ; and if practicable, not capable of long duration ; both which conjectures, that of this iſland, proves to have been erroneous. But the errors are

not surprising ; the surprise would have been, if a Cicero or a Tacitus, the most profound philosopher, or politician speculating in retirement, could in theory have devised the exact model, as it is to-day displayed, of the English constitution.

It was no speculation that formed it ; it owes its existence to the insular situation, joined with that singular train of circumstances, that the attempt has been made to unfold. So framed, so founded on a rock, it has stood the test of a multiplicity and variety of revolutions, the wisdom and virtuous patriotism of ages have conspired to complete and perfect the work. Long as its duration has been, long still may it be, if, unlike all other political institutions that are, or have been, it is probable it does not contain in it those seeds of corruption, inherent in them, that effected their dissolution. Still, as absolute perfection is not the lot of humanity, and all sublunary things are subject to change, perpetuity cannot be pronounced of the work of liberty ; and it may be threatened with dangers from within and from without, not but what, in the present system of things, the most imminent seem to be from without.

THIS is the first, the only retreat, Liberty has secured to herself : In this Atlantic isle, amid its oaks, the seat of the old Bards and Druids, is her temple

raised. Long choos'ing, late deigning to visit the habitations of men, after in vain roaming the Continent, in the midst of the ocean, bounteous nature round circling her retreat, she has marked a people for her own. If violated in this her first, so then her last sanctuary on earth, where she should rather be cherished by those without, as by those within; still is the danger from those without, whose envy and jealousy of this isle, together with her its genius are ever watchful to force her hence, never to return to the dwellings of men.

GOVERNMENT.

HOW Britain came to be in its present critical situation, and how she may best recover from it, is the object of what remains to be offered to the candid and patriotic public ; for nothing but true patriotism diffused through all ranks, animating the whole body of the people, can save the nation ; and if this appeal to it, may have the effect to rouse into a flame, the love of our country, revive the old spirit of Liberty, the great object of the Author's ambition is accomplished.

THE remaining enquiry resolves itself into four branches, the government—the relative state of the finances—of the resources of the rival nations—and reform.

THE state machine is far too complicated and unwieldy. Singularly excellent as is its internal frame and constitution, fine as is its mechanism, the

harmony and symmetry of the several component parts ; yet it was calculated for the British meridian, the British Isles, for a kingdom, not an empire, not meant to comprehend within the sphere of its action at once, the extremes of the torrid and the frigid zones, the tropical countries, and those within the polar circles : The springs, stretched beyond their natural tone to exert their influence, force their active principles at such distances, and in such opposite directions, are relaxed, the action and re-action of the corresponding parts is destroyed.

If the Roman government was too weak for the establishment of order, within the walls of Rome itself, it was still more so for the extension of it to the utmost verge of the limits of Italy, and most of all to that of the remote provinces. For what was the state of the nearest, even Sicily, under Verres ? If the feeble arm of justice could not reach so far to punish his barbarities ; if it could not prevent Italy from being driven to despair and distraction, on account of the horrible outrages, the prostitution, briberies committed in the public judgments, and revolting against them in the Social war, how little, and how faint must have been its influence in Asia, at the time of that dreadful massacre, unparalleled in history ? The best modelled constitution on earth,

the British, has its sphere of action prescribed to it, exerted beyond which, its powers and springs are relaxed in their tone and energy. But it has passed the bounds allotted it by nature, traversed regions and climes in the old world, where never flew the Roman Eagle, and added to its dominion half the new.

WERE Britain to be more tenacious of her claims to maritime dominion, and less ambitious of extending her territorial possessions, the true line of her political interests would then be pursued. They are her Continental connections, whether on this, or on the other side of the Atlantic, that are hastening her decline. The body is far too big for the head, which Bacon considers as a totally incurable disease, in the body politic. At a time, when every possible source of depopulation, from the rapid increase of luxury, prevails in the mother country, the plantation of distant and extensive colonies, is a most ruinous system of politics, to have been betrayed into. It is no other system of politics, no other line of measures, that has plunged us into our present involved, perplexed, embarrassed state of affairs. In vain are we to date our misfortunes, from the repeal of the Stamp, or passing of the Tea Acts: These operate but as the secondary causes of this our labyrinth of difficulties. The primary cause,

and without which, the secondary could have had no effect, is to be traced to a period more distant than either, to the impolitic peace of 1763. In that peace was laid the foundation of the late disastrous war. What a fatal error it was, to have entered into the negotiation, the putting the retention of Canada and the Floridas in competition with that of the French and Spanish West India islands! There, and there only, was the infatuation of our treaty, equal to the good conduct of our arms that gave rise to it. It was for that reason, that our misfortunes in the peace were but too much proportioned to our success in the war. The Roman Empire was of far too enormous a growth, which brought on its dissolution. It was in the remote provinces, the first symptoms of decay appeared, and every convulsion there, shook the whole fabric. Was not that the situation of Great Britain in the American war? The unparalleled successes of our arms in the preceding war enabled us to have retained the valuable West India sugar-islands, instead of immense tracts of uninhabited continent, the peopling of which is daily draining the mother-country of inhabitants, the support of which serves to exhaust her treasures. The produce of the French colony of St Domingo, is said to be greater than that of all the English sugar colonies, for which the only market was Great Britain and her

colonies. But we were grossly duped out of our real interests—we were made the bubbles of a party. Had we prudently availed ourselves of that glorious opportunity, we were masters of the whole sugar-trade, at the same time that our people, the true riches of a nation, the sinews of war, were kept at home to occupy our ample internal waste lands. The strange reverse now is, that we have but sugar enough to supply ourselves with, are peopling extensive foreign tracts of barren country, of which description we have but too much within the island; have every where planted distant colonies, no sooner formed than rebellious, and for curbing and reducing them to subjection, have been keeping up ruinous and expensive garrisons, levying and supporting great native and mercenary armies. Those colonies, which we planted and reared to their present maturity, at a great expence of treasure, we long protected from our joint hereditary enemies, at a great expence of both blood and treasure. When they were called upon, by every tie of justice and gratitude, to bear their proportion in the expence, and that too, in the extreme of moderation, the return they make, is, that it is enough that they have shed their blood in their own quarrel, it is not for them to share with their protectors in the money expended in it: And, rather than share in it, they have recourse to rebellion, in rebellion claim independence,

in support of their independence, fly for succour to those very enemies, from whom they so lately fled to us for protection.

It is over the sea and islands, that have the most immediate connection with it, that Britain should extend her dominion, if she stands in need of still further extent. These should be the sources of both her riches and her laurels. The climate, soil, government, and situation of Great Britain, are all favourable to commerce: In the two former respects, she is equalled, if not excelled, by many nations, in the latter by none. Her situation, so long as she remains mistress of the seas, no less than that spirit of freedom her constitution breathes, entitles her to hold the first rank among commercial nations.

THE government of the East Indies resembles more that of the Roman provinces, than of Britain, is more Pro-Consular; owing to the freedom and mildness of the British not being able to extend its influence so far. To such a height had risen the enormity of the flagrant abuses, and perversions of justice there, such was the rapine and plunder committed, as loudly called for the interposition of the Legislature to stop their progress. With that view, it first sent out the Judges, who, proving unequal to

the work of reform, the next remedy resorted to, was the India Bill, that dispenses with the trial by jury, and erects the Board of Control over the Board of Directors.

THE admirable author of the Constitution of England, expresses himself in these words : “ The “ finest government on earth, or rather that which “ has been founded on principles the most consonant to human nature, was in danger of total “ destruction, when Bartholomew Columbus was “ on his passage to England, to teach Henry VII. “ the way to Mexico and Peru.” The conjecture is just, as the Kings of England would, in that event, have had inexhaustible sources of wealth to draw their supplies from, independent of the British Commons, which would have enabled them to govern without Parliaments, to the ruin of the nation and its liberty. And here lies a great danger to all free states in the acquisition of foreign territories. They are oftener drains, than sources of wealth, as they are the never failing sources of wars, wars the ruin of public credit ; they require great armies for their defence, they constitute an *imperium in imperio*, that solecism in politics, increase the influence of the Crown, in the numerous appointments of officers, placemen, and dependents, they strengthen its power in the frequency of appeals

from them to the King in Council. In all these respects they may effect a change in the constitution, as well as when they are sources of wealth: And if in this last respect it so narrowly escaped the dangers attending the possession of South America, it only did so to incur, in all the others, the losses consequent on its establishments in North America. Happy had it been for Britain to have been taught the way to neither.

THE bloody and tragic scene is now closed, and now at length, after all our fruitless endeavours to retain them in subjection, we find ourselves stripped of thirteen colonies, reduced to the necessity of declaring their independence, and on these humiliating terms, of accepting their offers of peace. Nor would peace have been so dearly bought at the expence of their independence, had it not been for the additional load of about a hundred and fifty millions Sterling of debt, and a proportional waste of blood, all in consequence of the infatuated struggle for their subjection. Nor is even that immense debt the total amount of that incurred by us for them: For they are the sources to which we are to trace the whole of our enormous debt, with the exception only of what was contracted in K. William's wars, for the balance of power, and that waged by his successor for the Austrian succession, in all, amounting to

fifty-five millions. For of all our other wars since these periods, it is to our colonies we are to ascribe the rise. And the fruits of all our wars are debts, which amounted to two hundred and fifty-seven millions at midsummer 1783, and which, after the winding up of the war, and the deficiencies of the taxes are funded, will rise to two hundred and seventy-two millions, allowing for all the millions paid off during the intervals of peace. The accuracy of these calculations is not answered for, nor is it so material, as any errors in them will make but the odds of a few millions more or less.

WHAT then have been the advantages reaped from these establishments, to counterbalance such astonishing disadvantages? Will it be said that the riches flowing from our trade with them, have proved the means of our waste lands being cultivated, our arts and manufactures encouraged and promoted? But what riches has it contributed to equal to the debt it leaves behind, in consequence of the repeated, long and obstinate wars entered into for the protection of that trade? Our people too have been carried away to our continental settlements, our people that would have most contributed to the cultivation of the waste lands of this island. This misconduct would have been obviated, if our connections had been altogether with the islands,

and fishing banks at home and abroad; at the same time that our agriculture, arts and manufactures would have received additional increase, our nurseries for seamen additional improvements. Nor in that event would our cultivated lands have borne such a disproportion to the uncultivated, as at present they do, only a fourth in Scotland, and three-fourths in England.

OUR first settlement on the continent of America was coëval with the union of the two Crowns. It was then that Virginia, so called from being a virgin colony, was first planted with success, on a renewal of the attempt made towards it, that had failed in the preceding reign. Happy had it been for Britain, if the beginning then given to her empire there, and every subsequent endeavour made towards its extension, had proved as abortive, as it had done in Q. Elizabeth's reign.

NOR is the period very remote, when what remains to us of our provinces on the continent, with perhaps our islands, and other dependencies there, must, in the inevitable course of things, be involved in the same fate with those that have already left us. But from that fatality that ever has attended our measures, from that state of intoxication, in which we have been so long lulled secure, from that

delirium by which we have constantly suffered ourselves to be carried away, and out of which we have not yet recovered ; still uninfluenced as we are by past experience, unawed and uninstructed by recent example, without reflection on former misconduct, we cannot look on these our remaining dependencies in any other light, than as connected with us by the most indissoluble ties, the most lasting bonds of union.

WE should not have adopted the colonizing system, till reduced to it in the superabundance of our population, after the example of the Greeks and Romans, and then the independent plan of the Grecian *αποικισται*, was preferable to that of the dependent *coloniae* or plantations of Rome. With the loss of her free trade with the old world, Britain has lost much more than she has gained by the mercantile monopolizing one to the new. The first was a natural invigorating trade, the other constrained and enervating. The capitals diverted from the various channels opened by the one, were much absorbed in the engrossing branch substituted in their room : The returns, disproportionate to the capitals consumed, diminished, slow and uncertain. The effect of the change was a wasting carrying, instead of a direct circuitous trade.

To this detail, may be added the barbarism of the slave trade, which, from the ravages made by it in the human species, must soon exhaust itself. It is computed, that that inhuman traffic costs Africa annually about sixty thousand negroes, of which number the English take 40,000, the French 12,000, the Dutch 6000, the Portuguese not 4000, the Spaniards and Danes, though they have establishments in Africa, scarcely appear more in those markets. These annual drains have depopulated the shores, rendered the coasts a desert; and there being no supply without penetrating hundreds of miles into the interior parts of the country, that unnatural commerce seems to be threatened with inevitable dissolution. And well it were for the cause of humanity, of Christianity, it was dissolved. Added to the train of all the other expences attending colonies, may enter into the calculation the expence of humanity. It is for a nation that has so long distinguished itself for the glory of letters, of arms, for commerce, riches, power, now to distinguish itself for that virtue, ornamental of nations, as of individuals.

If ever the great Montesquieu had reason on his side, it is where he combats all the arguments adduced by writers in support of slavery: Nor is he, any where else, than on that topic, disposed to in-

indulge in irony, to which he is ultimately reduced, finding all serious reasoning, in aid of such a depraved system of policy, altogether vain and fruitless.

It was in the 1638, that the first American built vessel appeared in the Thames. In consequence of the civil wars of that time, the whole of our trade with the colonies was carried on in New England ships. The act of navigation confirmed the right to them, and ordained, that all New England built ships should be deemed British. Sir Josiah Child first, and afterwards Dr D'Avenant, discerned the fatal consequences of such a measure to the mother country. In encouraging the navigation, the marine of the colonies, a drain was opened for her artificers, which would be felt in times of war, and the foundation laid for their independence. The event has but too much verified the prediction; and how could it be otherwise, when patriots were then as little listened to as now?

SINCE then, all the effects of this narrow monopolizing system of American commerce, have been to entail on this country, all the burdens of support in peace, and defence in war, to share in the profits of it with other nations, the sooner American independence was effected the better; and what is to be regretted in it, are the violences it occasioned,

and the load of debt it has left behind. With all these disadvantages, it has prevented the translation of the seat of empire from this island across the Atlantic, as of old, from Rome to Constantinople, and similar consequences.

It enters into the plan of this work, and more particularly this branch of it, to view the various continental and insular connections formed by Britain in its divided or united state, on this and the other side of the Atlantic, the wars they have occasioned, the maintenance of the balance of power, the treaties and alliances that led to and resulted from them. In this external or foreign policy of the kingdom, we shall in general find a great deficiency of that wisdom and sagacity so remarkably displayed in its internal and domestic œconomy.

We have seen the capital advantages flowing from the conquest, in paving the way for the early acquisition of English liberty, at a time when the rest of Europe was sunk in ignorance and abject slavery : But it was not without its disadvantages also, arising from the continental connections it entailed on this kingdom, with a continuance of them for centuries. The moment the Normans established themselves in England, all ties between it and Normandy, and its several domains and appanages, in true policy, should

have been dissolved, as the retention of them was a constant source of a series of successive wars, the drains of its wealth and strength. Since, however, it was otherwise ordered, and the relinquishing them could not be submitted to, the same causes that contributed to the superiority of the English constitution over the French, did so likewise to that of its arms, in enabling it so long, in spite of so many natural and local obstacles, to retain them. It is chiefly owing to the united, compact, concentric state of England, the divisions of France, that in the frame of its government at home, and the fame of its arms abroad, the one country has enjoyed so great advantages over the other: Those reaped from its constitutional freedom, were counterbalanced by the disadvantages resulting from its foreign territories; and the dates of the origin of our liberty, and the loss of our Norman dominions under King John, correspond. It would have been much for the interest of the nation, had the loss of them been of equal duration with the gain of it, not temporary and preparatory only to their glorious recovery by our Edwards and our Henries, whose careers of victory were attended with the humiliating circumstances to our enemies, of a King of France prisoner in England, and a King of England crowned in France; and so far back laid the seeds of that rivalry and jealousy between the two nations, that to this hour

subsist. In the midst of these violent exertions, and memorable efforts for the preservation of our continental territories, we were not unmindful of, nor unequal to the pursuit of our more real and permanent interests, the conquests of Ireland and Wales; the one formed by nature as a constituent part of this island, the other island, from the same source, connected with it by all the ties of sound policy, and firmest bond of union. At length, the divisions and contests between the houses of York and Lancaster taking place of those in France, and its union of ours, the combination of these circumstances reciprocally co-operated to wrest from us finally our dominions there.

THE period that elapsed between the loss of these, and the acquisition of others across the Atlantic, which comprehended the whole line of Tudor princes, was the only interval in our history, that, for any length of time, since the conquest to this day, we have been without continental connections. It was then too only for any continuance, (whatever temporary sacrifices of them there may have been), we were without our civil liberties, when, to compensate the loss, we gained our religious. Long before the Reformation, great freedom of enquiry had prevailed with regard to the established faith, that was productive of continual retrenchments of the

Papal power and authority, in the various statutes of Premunire. The same spirit, with which so early and so successfully, in this island, the political rights of men were vindicated, was soon transferred to the examination of their spiritual; it in the mean time led to the correction of the grosser abuses in the old form of worship, till a new and better appeared, which, on its first appearance, was readily embraced.

THE transition from the one to the other was easy, attended with no violence of effort; and any hesitation or fluctuating irresolution between the two, that might have possessed the nation, was soon overcome, by the declaration of the King in favour of one; and the preference given by him to it was decisive of the doubts, and at once determined the balance. Thus the Reformation, which laid the continent waste with fire and sword, in some parts received, in others rejected, was in this island of momentary decision. The same caprice that actuated the reigning Monarch in the course of this important event, influenced his political career on the Continent. Freed as he was from all the incumbrances attending the hereditary and acquired possessions there of his ancestors, a singular coincidence of circumstances put the balance of power in his hands. Removed from the theatre of war, a spec-

tator of the contests between the two rival houses of Austria and France, equally courted by both, he had only well to weigh the motives, that might induce him to incline the balance to either side; to consider the interests of the nation in the part he should act on the scene; and when he took his resolutions, to be determined in them, and interfere between the rivals decisively. The reverse of this conduct, alternately following the bent of his own capricious humour, led by the ambitious views of Wolsey on the See of Rome, he fluctuated between the two; the umbrage taken by one at his opposition to him not effaced, before a renewal of it by a sudden return to the same line of measures, and desertion of his interests.

He was the enemy of both at intervals, the cordial ally of neither: nor was he more decisive in his enmity to Francis, at the battle of Guinegate, or battle of the spurs, as it is called, (from the greater use made of them than the sword, and its being more a route than a fight), than in the alliance contracted with him, at that magnificent interview that took place between them at Calais, in which so much treasure was wasted in pomp, parade, and festivity, to so little purpose. In all these inconsistent proceedings, his own importance, and the national interests were little attended to.

BUT in his Daughter's reign, that bloody stain on the annals of the country, there was a total sacrifice of every thing great and good. Her marriage with Philip the Second, was equally fatal to our civil and religious liberties: The latter, of recent adoption, not yet deeply rooted, were assailed from all quarters, with all the horrors of the Spanish Inquisition. The scaffold streamed—the stakes burned for their extirpation; and we are inclined to think we are reading the reign of a Nero, when perusing that of this unnatural bigotted Princess. Her impolitic connection formed with Spain, laid the foundation of the dangers with which the kingdom was threatened under Elizabeth, from the same quarter; but which the superior virtues and talents for government, that so remarkably distinguished that Princess, dissipated on their first appearance. With the defeat of the Invincible Armada, as it was arrogantly styled, vanished all hostile attempts against the kingdom's independence, and the reformed religion restored to it.

PUSHING further the great advantages derived from this glorious defence of her realms, she, in her turn, attacked the power of the Spanish Monarchy, hitherto so formidable to Europe. She encouraged its revolted subjects in the Netherlands, sent them supplies of troops, and, for the further security of

their independence, thus powerfully supported, she formed a triple alliance with England, them, and France, then governed by the greatest Prince that ever filled its throne. The same was England's fate, as in no period of its history, were measures pursued that redounded more to its glory and prosperity, the same line of measures, that the Republic of Holland owed its liberty and independence to. It was left for a British Queen, happily for her subjects, to refuse the Spanish Crown, then esteemed the most powerful in Europe, which her bigotted sister accepted—it was left for her, with the same policy and magnanimity, to reject the proffered sovereignty of its revolted subjects, the Flemings.

WE are now arrived at that period, the beginning of last century, at which is to be dated the origin of our colonies, and with them of all our misfortunes ; as from that time to this, near the space of two centuries, have the establishments on the American Continent, been continued drains of men and money to this exhausted island. The attempt to establish the colony of Virginia, that had proved abortive in Queen Elizabeth's reign, was in that of her successor resumed with success.

THE establishment of the colonies of both England and France, had its origin nearly at the same

time, in two cotemporary reigns, Virginia in that of James the First, Canada in that of Henry the Fourth.

JAMES's pacific disposition carried his views no where else abroad.

HIS son's disasters at home, prevented also his attention to foreign operations. Before the breaking out of his troubles, he was engaged in some fruitless expeditions, for the relief of the distressed Huguenots of France. Fortune never smiled on this unhappy Prince in any enterprises, foreign or domestic.

DURING the Commonwealth, the national glory was well maintained; Holland and Spain, in their turns humbled—the valuable island of Jamaica added to our possessions. It is over islands that Britain, in the due estimation of her interests, should have extended her dominion, when carried beyond the limits of her own. The Navigation Act, for the reasons already urged, was the most impolitic measure of that æra.

AFTER the Restoration, a line of measures was followed highly injurious to the national prosperity,

in the alliances contracted with France, and was entered into with Holland.

BUT the Continental connections the Revolution was attended with, were still more detrimental; and with them began the fatal system of funding; a system, that, in momentary exertions, anticipates the wealth and strength of ages yet unborn; then too was the creation of a moneyed interest, with it the national debt. Nor from that time, have those ruinous connections, on either side of the Atlantic, ceased to divide and distract our attention from domestic improvements, to exhaust our finances, waste our strength in the constant succession of wars, they have been the fruitful sources of.

THE House of Bourbon had now risen on the ruins of that of Austria—and it has been the fate of Europe for centuries past, to see its tranquillity disturbed by the ambitious views and projects of universal monarchy, entertained by these rival powers. It was now for Britain to enter the lists against the one, as she had formerly done with such success against the other, to preserve the balance between them and the other States. We have touched on the dexterous means used, the line of measures pursued, the favourable conjunctures seized on to accomplish the downfall of the first of these houses—to

curb the other ; the means used, the effect produced, form a striking contrast.

PLACED as we were in the same fortunate situation, that Henry the Eighth, and Elizabeth were in, removed from the theatre of war, out of the scene of action, spectators of the struggle for power, we all at once left our strong hold, our insular fastness, plunged into all the broils and politics of the Continent, instead of seconds, became principals in the war : It was Britain's men, Britain's money, that chiefly fought the battles of Holland and Austria, though, of all the European powers, the least concerned in them.

WHETHER she shewed more prudence in the choice of the place where, and the manner how she fought them, than in the quotas of men and money she furnished to them, is not more doubtful.

FLANDERS, from the number of fortified places it every where abounds in, was the most disadvantageous ground that France could have been opposed on : It was, as the political writers of the time called it, like taking the bull by the horns. Then, as to the conduct of the war, it was attended with many and signal victories, that redounded principally to the glory of the British arms, as they, of all

the allies, contributed most to them: And they were such, as, in the first years of the war, were amply sufficient to have secured a peace, in which all the objects of the war might have been fully provided for; and this was testified by the full and implicit declarations of Lewis XIV. at the conferences held in the year 1705 or 1706, to negotiate a treaty, the terms of which he left discretionary to the allies. More than that could not have been asked by them at first, nor hoped for at last; their successes more than gratified their most sanguine expectations.

If, from the beginning, the interests of Britain were most of all sacrificed, in furnishing so much more than her due proportion of men and money to the common cause; from this stage of the war, they were still more so, for the same reasons, as she had most at stake that was least concerned: And now the rest of the confederated powers, that were at first gainers in her loss, became, in their turn, sharers in it, as the great object of the confederacy was accomplished, and the common interests of all engaged in it, were made subservient to those of a few designing individuals. Nor was the success of the allied arms, after this desertion of the cause, and violation of the public faith, in any shape equal to what it had been before it.

The laurels reaped at Blenheim, Lifle, Ramillies, Malplaquet, were all previous to it. There is one remarkable fact mentioned by Swift, that puts this truth in a striking point of view; the current services, voted for one year of Britain's proportion of the expenditure, were seven millions, and the success of the campaign amounted to no more than the taking of one insignificant town, the loss or gain of which was in no degree decisive of the fortune of the war.

SUCH gross abuses in the administration of affairs, produced, at length, a change of men and measures;—the Whig party was turned out, with them the Duke of Marlborough, out of all his employments; the Tory came in, the Duke of Ormond was appointed to the command of the army. The change of ministry did not remedy the affairs of this country, or extricate it out of its difficulties. A great army was still kept on foot in Flanders, though allowed to remain inactive, and separate itself from the rest of the allies: Which separation so weakened them, as to occasion the disaster at Denain, where the troops covering the siege of Landrecy, under Lord Albemarle, were defeated in their entrenchments by Marshall Villars, and the defeat followed by the raising of the siege of the only place of strength

that remained, to stop the career to Paris of the combined forces under Prince Eugene; and which must have submitted to so able a commander, had he been supported by the British troops. So that the last error committed, in not continuing the war longer, was perhaps worse than that in continuing it so long, at least the avoiding the last was the only remedy left for the first. The only alternatives for Britain in such a dilemma were, either to have deserted the alliance sooner or later than she did: But in embracing neither, the object of the war was totally frustrated and abandoned. The Spanish succession was secured in the House of Bourbon—the barrier on the side of Flanders, left too much territory to that power, and was too ineffectual a curb to it—and all the indemnification obtained to Britain by the peace of Utrecht, for a debt of fifty-five millions contracted, was the barren rock of Gibraltar, and Minorca in Europe, in America the addition of more territories to those of too great extent; possessed by her there before; all which acquisitions have only served to increase that debt. In all our treaties of peace, whether after successful or unsuccessful wars, we have been made the dupes, in the wars too often the bubbles.

WHAT our conduct was in this, is to be seen, painted in the truest and most lively colours, in the Tory writers of that time, Bolingbroke and Swift, at least the errors of the Whig party; those of their own, they either suppress or varnish over. Nor need we hesitate to pronounce, after a serious investigation of the contest at home and abroad, that our continental connections have been no less unfortunately formed, ruinously kept up on this than on the other side of the Atlantic.

THE Emperor, whose mother, the Queen of Hungary, owed her elevation to Great Britain, that fought her battles, and, in fighting them, incurred so many millions of debt, imposes the strictest prohibitions on the importation of British manufactures into his dominions. He is, besides, employed in weakening the barrier we so heroically reared, so long guaranteed, a leading object in that ruinous war, and almost the sole fruits reaped from it at the following peace. Britain, on the other hand, with the Houses of Brandenburg, Saxony and Sweden, has entered into the Germanic league, that is intended to overawe and control the House of Austria, so long her ally, and the rival of that of Bourbon, with which a commercial treaty is concluded.

WHAT part the Dutch, the other member of the old alliance, took in the late contest with our colonies, is well known; the not only leagu- ing with them, but with their own as well as our hereditary enemies, from whom, at the period in view, they fled to us for protection, and obtained it, as they once so effectually did before, at the time of their throwing off the Spanish yoke, and have since so repeatedly continued to do. In return for which uniform series of support, they first broke the ties of gratitude, the least binding that connects states, and those more coercive of interest—the faith of all our treaties and alliances—then combined with France and Spain to give that independence to our colonies, that they, through our means, chiefly, gained first from Spain, and afterwards maintained against France.

THE assistance afforded the revolted colonies by Spain, was contrary to its interests, if not so immediately, yet ultimately it must prove so, in paving the way to a like revolution, in the southern continent of America, to that in the northern; finally too, all the islands must share the fate of the continent.

THE exchange of the Floridas may retard such a revolution, in forming a barrier between the

two powers that divide it, and more strongly cementing the alliance between the three already formed : And while it proves the means of preventing the embroiling affairs between them, may rekindle the flames of war with us : That restless power once more getting footing on that continent, will disturb the peace of it as before, when it had possessions there.

SUCH have been the fruits reaped towards the close of the eighteenth century, from the alliances and connections formed by us in the beginning of it, as if fortune sported with all the schemes of human policy ; most of the allies acting in concert with the power that was the object of the confederacy, some of them lately at variance with each other, concerning the free navigation of the Scheldt and Indian seas. Ever extravagant has been the departure from the security and independence of our insular situation, to plunge into all the broils and confusions of the continent, which the almost uniform series of our mistaken politics has been so industrious to connect us with, as nature to detach us from.

THE revolution in the new hemisphere seems to be but the forerunner of others in the old : for, in the history of Europe, never were there so extensive

combinations forming among its powers, as at this day present themselves, with a view to proportioned changes in the system of things. The centre and moving principle of all these political machinations is our jealous rival, and this country is the primary object she proposes to herself in them, and annexed to it she no doubt has her secondary. To the triple league, she has formed with her greatest neighbouring maritime powers, traversing the Baltic she has invited Sweden to accede. She is negotiating a treaty of commerce with Russia, and by her intrigues, it is feared, is retarding the completion of ours at that and other courts. If she should prove equally successful in her negotiations there, what a scene is opened to us in the event of a war! We shall probably have to encounter all Europe as avowed enemies, instead of one half of it, as in the late war, and the other half concealed ones. Should Russia prove an exception to the general confederacy, in consequence of our negotiations being attended with more success at that court, than those of our neighbours, still the balance must be greatly against us, from the distance of our northern allies, the Baltic's being frozen so great a part of the year, and necessarily retarding, if not obstructing all concerted operations between us and them. When that bar of nature is for a time removed, it is succeeded by all those we are exposed

to, from the intervention of the different branches of the formidable confederacy, who enjoy every advantage of local situation, that may enable them to intercept the stipulated mutual succours. The severity and length of the winters in those latitudes equally check and retard the military operations by land. The French are in possession of a naval arsenal at Gottenburgh, in a kingdom from whence we are supplied with great part of our naval stores; which establishment, together with their alliances, furnishes them with an opportunity of cutting up by the root the sinews of our maritime greatness. It is already much endangered in the want of its former supply of the American ship-timber, and great additional consumption of the home growth.

AND what prospect does that quarter afford, in respect of future alliances? In the event of an early rupture with our neighbours, while the wounds of our late contest with it are fresh in remembrance, it is to be feared, that, should it share in the quarrel, as too probably it will, the passions and prejudices will continue the same bias they have received: And there is the addition in the scale against us, of another quarter of the globe. How do the remaining two stand affected? Not amicably towards us, if French intrigues and political address have already prevailed at the Porte in great measure to

the exclusion of our share of the Levant trade; and if our alliance with Russia should be cemented, it will have the effect to alienate us still more from the Ottoman Court. In this picture, let others determine whether exaggerated or not, there seems to threaten us, on the breaking out of a war, a general confederacy of the powers throughout the four quarters of the globe, at the instance of that which, in the war of 1756, suffered such accumulated losses at our hands, in all the four quarters. It was therefore not only wittily, but well said in the House of Commons, that we had but one enemy, and that was the world, and yet divided against ourselves. Nor did ever Britons more than now, answer the description given of them by the Roman poet, *Toto divisos orbe Britannos*.

It is not to Britain alone, I would wish to sound the alarm, but to the liberties of Europe, for involved in its liberties are those of the continent: Nothing short of universal monarchy can be the object of such universal combinations and alliances, the means only varied; nothing short of the renewal of that airy phantom, so long in vain sought after, first by the House of Austria, then by that of Bourbon, nor ever more likely to be realized by one or the other, than now in the union of both, fortified by such political connections. Should they have the effect to sacrifice

the liberty of that Isle, which so long and so happily has stood forth the assertor of that of Europe, let Europe beware lest its liberties then lose the balance on which they hang. Such combinations are too complicated, too violent to last; and if the object of their formation is such as is here alluded to, that once satisfied the sharing of the spoils, if nothing else, will as hastily operate its dissolution, and then it is, that the weaker powers will fall a prey to the stronger.

THERE is a remarkable passage in Montesquieu's *Grandeur et Decadence des Romains*, where the parallel is drawn between Rome and Carthage: "The powers established by commerce, can subsist a long time in a state of mediocrity; but their grandeur is of short duration. They raise themselves by little and little, and without any one perceiving it; for they do no particular act that is remarkable, to signalize their power; but when things are come to that point, that there is no concealing, every one seeks to deprive that nation of an advantage, which it has not gained, if the expression may be allowed, but by surprise."

THE reflection is general, all the commercial states, whether ancient or modern, either have, or

may experience the truth of it. In antiquity, Athens and Carthage were striking instances of its certainty; in modern times, Portugal evinced it, and, in a most singular manner, Britain in her contest with her colonies, when, besides America, she had to oppose one half of Europe as avowed enemies, while the other half acted as concealed ones, in the confederacy entered into, unprecedented in history, the armed neutrality. If Holland has not yet verified the remark, the time may not be far distant when it will be seen, how far other commercial nations will rise on the ruins of its trade, as it rose on the ruins of the Portuguese.

ONE would imagine, that Montesquieu, in drawing the above reflection, from a retrospect of the commercial states of antiquity, had foreseen the fate of Britain, and with it the part his own country was to bear in the almost universal confederacy formed against its trade.

It is with a degree of rapture and enthusiasm, that in his greater work he speaks of the English as a model of the most perfect human constitution that could be framed, as De Lolme has done after him. The concurring testimonies of two such enlightened foreigners, unbiassed, unprejudiced, are the safest to be relied on. The rearing of this fa-

bric, the admiration of mankind, was the work of
 ages, the purifying and refining it, to bring it to its
 present standard, cost the nation revolutions, violent
 intestine convulsions, and streams of its best blood.
 Through all the extremes it was agitated and tossed
 in, the spirit of liberty was kept alive, steadily
 pursued its object, till in the end it prevailed. In
 the completion of the great work, no country has
 ever so nobly asserted the rights of men, or with so
 masterly a hand ascertained the just limits and pro-
 portions between the Prince and the People, between
 Prerogative and Privilege. And as it best among
 the nations asserted the cause of Liberty, so was it
 the first in modern Europe to stand forth its patron
 both in Church and State. It led the way in the
 Reformation, in breaking the fetters of the Papal
 yoke; and after dispelling the gloom of the Romish
 superstition, and emancipating itself from the abject
 slavery it imposed, it soon emerged out of the shades
 of Gothic night, and burst asunder the bands of the
 feudal system. Nor was this all, though what it
 did in these two instances for the cause of humanity,
 in so admirably asserting its civil and religious
 rights, will ever redound to its most lasting fame;
 yet in the same way, it first, in modern history, rose
 to literary eminence, and ever since has continued
 to maintain the same superiority.

FROM that memorable epoch in modern history, the middle of the 15th century, when the overthrow of the Greek empire by Mahomet II. in the East; in the West the discovery of the Indies by Christopher Columbus, at which is to be dated the revival of Grecian science, when the invention of Printing made such a revolution in the arts of peace; the invention of Gunpowder in the art of war, when history is to be studied, not merely read, what an astonishing figure does Britain make from that period downwards, not only in the respects just mentioned, but in variety of others, and in none more than reaping the first fruits of these two great discoveries, her literary and martial glory keeping pace with each other, and in both, her so far eclipsing every other nation.

No sooner did printing open the paths to science, than Sir Thomas More successfully entered them; he was followed by Hervey, and that great philosopher Lord Verulam, who, by the introduction of experiment into science, prepared the way for the sublime discoveries, and infallible truths of the immortal Newton; before whose superior lustre and influence, Descartes and his aerial vortices, or whirlpools, with all the support given them by Malebranche, disappear as the shades of night before the sun. These, in philosophy, and in poetry, the ini-

imitable Shakespeare, with equal splendor, led the way. To these ornaments of our annals, need not be added that long list of other eminent philosophers, poets, historians, and writers that have excelled in the various branches of literature, whose merits are so well known, and whom in another place I have had occasion to mention.

So are the pages of the British story illustrated and adorned, and thus was it that Britain, at the same time that it chose the best constitution, the best religion for itself, extended a toleration to all religions; and not satisfied with asserting its own natural rights, and far from confining its views within the limits of its own islands, made Europe the theatre of its operations in maintaining the cause of Europe, and standing forth the champion of its liberties. While such were the extensive and important objects of its victories, its science and arts enlightened the universe, and cultivated humanity.

WHEN such were the benefits conferred by it on society, it deserved no such return as it met with; instead of a peaceable intercourse in the way of trade with all the surrounding nations, in the time of public calamity, in the hour of danger, a total desertion of friends and allies, and half of Europe, with America up in arms against it. If it is considered,

that envy and jealousy are to be overcome neither by states nor individuals, the surprise vanishes, and the regret remains. Hercules could conquer these two fiends only by his death : Britain finds them surviving her fall.

NOR other was the fortune of Athens, whose history, in the leading features, so strikingly resembles that of this country. After the glorious stands repeatedly made by that flourishing state, in defence of the liberties of Greece, in its oppositions to the Persian descent, first under its renowned leader Miltiades on the plains of Marathon, then at the Straits of Salamis, under the conduct of Themistocles : After it so had, and while it still was continuing to embellish philosophy, and the fine arts with such inimitable productions of genius, it was then that it experienced against it, in the Peloponnesian war, an almost general confederacy of the principal cities of Greece, which did not end but in its entire overthrow, and subjection to the rival power of Sparta. That in the sequel, and towards the close, the parallel of the two histories may not be so exactly preserved, as in the intermediate parts, is for Britain well to beware, that it may not experience, in its dangerous and watchful rival, what Athens felt in Lacedæmon, and Carthage in Rome, is for it well to guard against. As Carthage was to Rome on the

opposite side of the Mediterranean, so is Britain to France, on the opposite side of the English channel. The points in which the parallel between the two states is most striking, are their liberty, commerce, intestine factions, mutual lot to cope with an ambitious restless rival, and their means of doing it, their riches. And may not the alarming symptoms that this island is threatened with from its divisions and caballing spirit, that cease not in those times of public danger and calamity, when the enemy is knocking at its gates, produce a similarity in its fate with that of the African republic.

WHAT remains for Britain, in opposition to that union of powers, formed and forming against it, is an entire union in itself. Let it beware of the factions of Carthage, and the fate they conspired to draw on it. It was England's union, its compact and solid state, that nursed in it the spirit that has reared its perfect constitution, consecrated it the sole region, and chosen seat of Liberty, cultivated her recesses, raised her temple, and on her altars sacrificed. It was when the din of faction was no more heard, when the voice of party-rage slept, that it reached the summit of glory, and victory from pole to pole crowned its arms. It was when divided against itself, it fell from that towering height to its present low ebb, never to rise again but by unanimity,

which alone can arm it against all attacks from within, or from without.

Let it attend to, and maturely weigh that profound reflection, coming from the neighbouring nation, drawn from the history of antiquity, founded in the experience of ages, therefore extensive in its application, probably infallible in its conclusions, and consider it as a prediction of its still further declension, as it has already proved of its present state of ebbing, and so turn it to its advantage. Let Britain reflect, that France will not rest satisfied with the present involved, embarrassed situation it has so much contributed to reduce us to; but, on the contrary, availing itself of our complicated distress, our late heavy losses, of the powerful confederacies it has formed against us, the alliances it has detached from us, all which favourable circumstances have enabled it to reduce its land-forces, the better to bend its whole attention to the improvement of its marine, so taking advantage of its own either absolute or relative flourishing state, from its jealousy of our trade, unconquerable envy of our greatness, it will seek our further depression.

To turn at length our eyes from foreign to domestic policy, that policy resorted to in the mutual intercourse of the two parts of the island, and the

two islands themselves, it is feared we shall have no more reason to approve of the one than the other, but find both equally defective, alike conducive to the present embarrassed state of affairs.

IN viewing the interests of Great Britain as connected with those of its neighbouring sister kingdom, the first striking idea, that naturally and necessarily presents itself, is a full participation of each others advantages and disadvantages, in a firm and lasting bond of union. Without such a connection, the one is far sunk below her so late elevated station in the political scale of Europe, and the other will never rise near to it. All ideas of commercial regulations disappear before this as temporary expedients, absorbed in its superior influence. They have been attempted, from time to time, in a variety of fluctuating shapes, and in all of them have successively eluded the search; nor will they ever be renewed with any prospect of real advantage, or lasting success to the contracting nations. They therefore should, it would seem, be laid aside, with a view to the lenient hand of time dissipating the passions and prejudices, that at present bar the completion of so desirable an event. Not but that it is attended with difficulties, that appear scarcely surmountable in any length of time. They arise from the spirit of independence, diffused among our neighbouring

Islanders, an independence obtained from us in the day of our adversity, and consequent jealousy entertained of it by a people so late emerged from a state of subjection. If in return for the independence given to them, we had secured to ourselves but an union, or if an union had been made the condition of independence, we had then effectually provided for the most valuable and permanent interests of both nations, as they must stand or fall together. But we were then so involved in the American war, as not to have been able to think of such extensive arrangements at home; and it is well, if we have not to attribute the final loss of Ireland to that of America among our other losses; and it is to be wished, that even there may be the full extent of them.

Now, it is feared, it is much too late to propose the terms, the opportunity is lost, and we may offer them only to be rejected; and how a great and once powerful nation, with the hereditary martial spirit this is possessed of, can brook insult upon loss from a long dependent, and much inferior people, is for it to consider. It is for it well to weigh, whether that country, warned by the example of the Scottish nation, will not, with a more jealous eye, watch over its newly acquired liberty and independence,

than that deluded people guarded its ancient hereditary rights and immunities.

AND here let us pause a while, to take a survey of that proceeding, the Union between the two kingdoms. That warlike people, that, never could be brought by its aspiring neighbours to make a surrender of its rights in the field, was egregiously duped out of them in the cabinet. That a nation that had so well fought, should have so miserably negotiated, is at once matter of regret and astonishment. Nor in any other light, can that so much canvassed treaty of Union, be looked on coolly and dispassionately, without bias or prejudice. It must be confessed, that that national act, with all its painful consequences, is far preferable to that continual state of war, in which the two countries, so far back in their histories, had been involved : But that state of war had long ceased, prior to the Union of the two Kingdoms, it had ceased even before the Union of the two Crowns : The removal then of that calamity, was none of the advantages attending that act to either nation.

To counterbalance the innumerable advantages that England derives from it, What is the single benefit Scotland reaps ? A communication of trade, it will be answered. It may be a question, how far

that was beneficial ; and to solve this question, it will be necessary to have some recourse to principles—and principles seem to teach us, that commerce should rather be the consequence of agriculture, arts, and manufactures, than the means of them. Agriculture being the basis, all the rest follow of course, and progressively in their order : But to begin with commerce, and so in an inverse method, through the medium of arts and manufactures, to arrive at the culture of land, is a reversal of all order in the œconomy of things, and constitutes their retrograde motion. The progress to refinement and luxury in bodies politic, as well as natural, should be by slow degrees, not rapid and hasty strides. But, by the Union, it was meant that we should at once plunge into all the affluence, luxury, and refinement of English commerce, from a very moderate degree of civilization. It was not so that England advanced to her commercial greatness ; she otherwise proportioned means to ends—she prudently made agriculture the foundation of her wealth and consequence ; and, had it not been for her too early adoption of the colonizing system, as has been above shewn, she would have made still less progress in commerce, till she had made greater in agriculture ; nor would she have sought to have acquired her foreign dependencies, till, from the cultivation of all her improveable waste lands at home, and conse-

quent luxuriant population, she had no room left for the superfluity of her inhabitants. The colonies form a striking contrast to the whole United Kingdom, in their rapid advances to national prosperity and independence, in establishing agriculture as the basis, and progressively proceeding through all the different stages of improvement.

For the same reason, Scotland, with her very great disproportion of improved lands, to those that are improveable and waste, at the time we are speaking of, since it is so great at present, together with her confined method of improvement, observed in the cultivated parts, then especially, as it is at this day capable of such enlargement, was not sufficiently ripened or matured, for the prodigious, sudden, and unnatural influx of English trade. She had not stamina, was not possessed of sufficient internal strength, arising from increase of cultivation and population, for great external exertions, in a commercial line; she could not, in her infant state, spare men enough to answer the common dangers of the sea, attendant on a complicated and extensive trade, independent of the drains of wars, emigrations, foreign settlements, that are the necessary consequences of it. In return for English commerce, our subjecting Scotch trade to the English duties, was receiving it with such embarrassments, as very

much diminished its value, and, joined with the spirit of election, has proved the ruin of many of the towns on the coast of Fife; and if on their ruins, have risen to a flourishing state, the towns of Perth, Dundee, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and others, still that is but enriching one part of the country at the expence of another, instead of all parts being alike benefited. In the same desolate situation with the coast of Fife, is that of Galloway, Ayr, and Kirkcudbright, though admirably calculated for carrying on an extensive trade with England, Ireland, and the various parts of the old and new world. Its local advantages are sacrificed to smuggling in a few straggling petty towns. Its contraband trade has declined with that of the Isle of Man, and, with the excellent roads, the first step to all improvements made in that extensive tract of country, a way is paved for the enterprising spirit of landlords to substitute, in the room of the decayed, illicit, a more flourishing lawful trade. Nor better is the condition of the whole extent of coast round Scotland, with a few exceptions, as shall be more enlarged on, in its proper place, where the fisheries are discussed.

WITH the so long obtained participation of the latitude of their extensive trade, how many ports and havens fit to hold the Navy of Great Britain,

do our coasts at this moment abound in, wholly useless and unoccupied ! How many Isles are there surrounding this, which, if attended to, and cultivated, instead of the waste condition they are in, might have proved valuable several dependencies, with their trade supporting and aggrandising the parent state. Whence does this arise, but from the necessity of trade keeping pace with agriculture, notwithstanding all the means used, to compare great things with small, to force like mushroom appearances, or hot-bed productions, its unnatural and disproportionate growth.

THE article of commerce, being so weighed, and the balance found so little in our favour, if not so much against us, from the false conception it gives us of a borrowed greatness, of riches not natural to us, nor entirely our own, in the further prosecution of it, the argument will assume a different shape, and the evident advantages on the side of England, will appear greatly to preponderate in the scale. With our Parliament, went our ancient hereditary spirit of independence, and national consequence : With it the product of our great landed property, in the possession of Lords and Commons, to be squandered and dissipated in the overgrown luxurious seat of Empire. Here is a very heavy article against us in the balance of trade, for which

there is no return. Add to the consumption of our wealth there, the barren and pernicious effects of it, the importation of the extravagant ideas of English luxury, with the returning Legislators, into a yet but growing and rudely formed country, not sufficiently matured to resist its infectious qualities: And their fortunes little equal to the weight of attending so distant a legislation, with the remains, are still less equal at home to the support of such a load of foreign luxury. The contagion of example too, spreads far, the force of imitation propagates the disease, and renders it incurable. And thus, in a yet but infant state, we have the corruption abounding, that is incident only to full grown bodies politic. To this so exhausting a drain, may be added those other two of education and appeals; not to mention the various articles of trade. The annual exports to Scotland, between 1763 and 1775, including the money spent in England, by the Scots, are stated at L. 2,600,000, the exports to America never exceeded L. 1,763,409, upon an average of ten years, prior to 1780, not even in 1771, the highest year of exports, particularly to America. The balance is near a million. Much more proportionably to what Scotland has gained in its trade with the English dependencies, it has lost in that with England itself. This truth may be illustrated by analogy, drawn between the bodies, natural and

politic. As in the former, the circulation of the blood is, the nearer the heart, the more copious and vigorous, and the more scanty and languid towards the extremities ; so in the same proportion, the returns were quicker, and more certain from one part of the Island to the other, than across the Atlantic Ocean, between the same Island and its colonies. With all this detail of burdensome articles against us, and not one favourable circumstance for us, there yet remains one to be added to the list, more than equal in weight to all the rest, our proportion of the national debt, and with the mention of it, we may close this summary review of the relative situations of the united parts of this Island, and prosecute our enquiries into the state of the neighbouring one, which led us into this deduction. Before quitting it, it may be observed, that the thoughts on this subject, as well as the colonizing system, were put together, before the perusal of the admirable publication, the *Wealth of Nations* ; the coincidence of ideas to be traced in so high an authority is a great encouragement in the submitting them to the public.

THE Irish, thus warned by the example of the Scottish delusion and mistaken policy, will carefully avoid falling into the same error. Besides all these obstacles that should have proved insurmountable

to an Union of the two parts of the Island, on the present terms, and will prove so to a complete incorporation of the two Islands themselves, there is another very material bar arising from local situation, the distance between them and the intervening sea. This is a very effectual obstruction to one Parliament; and if Ireland, from natural as well as political obstacles, cannot be incorporated with Britain, on the same conditions that the two parts of Britain are with each other, one Legislature serving for all, all the three might have been so on the same terms, under one Head, with each their separate legislation, on the model of the British. In yielding to this arrangement, neither of the three sacrifice any thing, but the several component parts of a firm united body conspire in a general harmony to the good of the whole.

THE constant and uniform ideas entertained of an Union between the two kingdoms, long previous to the period that it took place, was a federal, not an incorporating one. Edward the First and Third, were bent on no other, nor under any other impression did the Commissioners, on the part of Scotland, meet to negotiate it in Queen Anne's reign; till, by bribery and undue influence, they were gained over to the views of the English, to betray the trust reposed in them, to sacrifice the

real interests of both people ; and by the same unjustifiable, secret, indirect means, joined with the appearance of open force, a ratification of their deed was procured in the Scottish Parliament.

THE circumstances, that led to this revolution in the political state of the Island, were singularly critical. It took place on the eve of the Hanoverian succession, at a time when a great party in England were in correspondence with the exiled family, and the inclinations of all Scotland might be supposed to be favourable to its ancient race of Kings. Scotland was then in arms, and Britain was reduced to the alternative of an Union to secure the present succession, or a civil war to endanger it. The first was adopted, as the least of the two evils.

ENGLAND loses nothing in consenting to a restoration of the Scots Parliament, without impeachment of the Union, as by such an act, she only removes one of the least sources of wealth, that contributes to the aggrandisement of the greatly overgrown seat of empire, the size of which has been long hastening the decline of the state. What London would lose, Scotland would gain, and through the medium of Scotland, England ; and if England is so much benefited in the present system of things, how much more would it be in the

event of such a change. At the same time, that that source of evil is removed from the one capital, a proportional good is transplanted to the other, there to circulate the riches that nature meant it should have. The more equally the riches of a country are diffused over the face of it, to the utmost limits of its most remote provinces, where, as, in the extremities of the natural body, the circulation of the blood being more languid, requires the greater encouragement, the more flourishing is the state of that country.

By such a federal union, all the three contracting parts have every thing to gain, and nothing to lose; they become a firm, compact solid body, their motto, *Tria juncta in uno*. A free state of too great an extent, can neither guard against hostile attacks from without, or frustrate despotic attacks from within, any way so well as by subdividing itself into several federal states under one head. There is the more urgent necessity for such a triple union, to oppose the triple league that is formed on the continent against the objects of it, by that power that ever has been ready to foment divisions in the Island of Great Britain, and take advantage of them when fomented; and that ever will be ready to encourage the same divisions between the two

Islands themselves, and adopt the maxim, *divide et impera*, with which the world was conquered.

THERE have been several periods in our history, when that aspiring rival might have availed itself, with success, of such a policy, in the contests that have arisen between Britain and Ireland, as in Tyronne's rebellion, in the grand rebellion, and at the Revolution. But its own internal convulsions, its pursuits in the extension of its conquests by land, long prevalent inattention to commerce, prevented its seizing on such favourable opportunities. Now that its occupations are other than they then were, its views directed to different objects, and trade among them the ruling one, it is to be presumed, that, in the present critical situation of the two Islands, it will not look on with an eye of indifference, as on former similar occasions, but have recourse to another line of measures, and take an active part in the struggle.

LYCURGUS being asked whether he had given the Spartans the best laws he was capable of framing for them? answered, That he had given them the best they were capable of receiving: So to pass from Utopian schemes of policy, let us enquire into the most practicable that remain for the relief of this country; for the above reasoning should have pre-

vented the present terms of the Union, rather than now correct them : And the same reasoning that might evince the danger of so late a change should have operated against it at first. Forcible arguments on this topic, are to be drawn from the Roman story, on the removal of the seat of empire to Constantinople. Montesquieu's reflection on that event is, when a government has a form long established, and things are fixed in a certain situation, it is almost always prudent to leave them in it, because the reasons, often complex and unknown, that occasion such a state to have subsisted, occasion also its continuance ; but when the total system is changed, there is no remedy but for inconveniencies that present themselves in theory, and others are left remediless, which experience alone can discover. Thus, though the empire was of but far too great extent ; the division, which was made of it, ruined it : Because all the parts of that immense body, a long time united, were adjusted to remain so, and have a dependence on one another.

RELATIVE STATE

OF THE

FINANCES OF THE RIVAL NATIONS.

THE fruits reaped from all these various measures of government, pursued in this and the neighbouring country, come next in order under review, of course the relative state of their respective finances.

GENERAL Table of the gross sums enumerated in the body of Mr Necker's work.

French Livres. Pounds Sterling.

Total amount of the taxes annually le- vied, -	585,000,000	25,593,750
Annual expences of the State, -	610,000,000	26,387,500

	<i>French Livres.</i>	<i>Pounds Sterling.</i>
Expences of collect-		
ing the taxes,	58,000,000	2,537,500
Annual amount of		
the importations,	230,000,000	10,062,500
Exportations, -	300,000,000	13,125,000
Balance of com-		
merce, -	70,000,000	3,062,500
Annual interest of		
the national debt,	207,000,000	9,056,250
Charge of the army,	124,650,000	5,433,437 10
Navy and Colonies,	45,200,000	1,977,500
Amount of gold and		
silver coin suppo-		
fed to be in the		
kingdom,	2,200,000	96,250,000
Supposed annual in-		
crease, -	40,000,000	1,750,000
which he supposes equal to that of all the other States of Europe together.		

Pounds Sterling.

The amount of the debt not given,
Suppose about - - 181,000,000

L. Sol. Deniers.

The exact par, is 22 17 6 per pound Sterling.

*Result of NECKER's Calculations in the
Account he gave the King, January
1781.*

The revenues amount to	-	264,154,000
The expences to	-	253,954,000

The revenues exceed the expences by 10,200,000

Nota. That surplus is independent of 17,326,666
livres employed in reimbursements, of which the
detail follows :

Total of reimbursements,	-	17,326,666
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Of the annual interest of the national debt, as
above stated, Livres 81,400,000 consist of liferent
annuities. Of the debt of Great Britain, there
are but about Livres 30,000,000 extinguishable in
a certain time, the rest consist of perpetual mort-
gages. It is singular that this Financier states the
annual interests of the debts of the two nations at
present equal, estimating ours, at pounds Sterling,
8,933,414, which sum, at the rate of 23 livres,
3 sous, 6 deniers *per* pound Sterling, would make
about 207 millions French money. There is ano-

ther unfavourable circumstance for Britain, that enters into the comparative view, a greater proportion of its debt is contracted with foreigners than that of France. Our national debt, at the end of Queen Anne's war, was L. 55,000,000, and American L. 240,000,000. It would be curious to compute at what rate has been the daily expenditure of Great Britain since the creation of the world, how many thousands, or what extent of ground the guineas in it, placed horizontally, would cover.

Our coinage is free, a moderate duty would be expedient. In France a Seignorage or duty of about 8 *per cent.* is imposed on it.

THE French have taken the lead of us in the establishment of a sinking fund, having appropriated a sum for the lessening their national debt the year following the peace.

THE annual average importation of gold and silver into Spain and Portugal, is about L. 6,000,000 Sterling. Of which the annual consumption at Birmingham is L. 59,000.

SPAIN was deeply involved in debt before the end of the sixteenth century, a century before

England had any public debts. The Italian states began the ruinous system of funding.

LET us hear what the profound Statesman and Financier here cited, says on the credit of Britain, as worthy of the attention of every British subject.

It has been constantly seen, that the loans of England succeed each other with more activity, and to greater extent, than those of France, even in the times that that kingdom had the most credit, a circumstance that ought to appear the more extraordinary, as the specie of Britain, including in it the bank-notes, which stand for money, scarcely equalled, for these ten years past, the half of the actual specie of France. It is not only in the extent of the public confidence, that is to be sought the cause of that astonishing faculty of borrowing, of which Britain gave more striking instances in the American war than ever: He is persuaded that, with the same degree of credit, she never would have arrived at it, without the activity that prevails in the circulation; or, to speak more plainly, without the readiness, with which the funds drawn to the Treasury by the loans, and afterwards dissipated for the public expence, return into the hands of the subscribers, who lend them afresh the succeeding years. The rapidity

of that circulation arises from particular causes:
1st, From the habitual and general usage of paper money, which renders the payments from one end of the kingdom to the other as quick as the post.
2^{dly}, From the small extent of the kingdom.
3^{dly}, From the centering of almost all the specie in London, at once a sea-port, capital, chief seat of commerce, and centre of almost all the bank payments.
4^{thly}, From the practice of all the merchants and individuals not to have money in their repositories, but to lodge it with cashiers without interest, but with the tacit permission to profit of the funds, of which they are the depositories: So that that multitude of small sums of money, which otherwise would stagnate in the hands of individuals, by concentrating in those of bankers, form a capital considerable enough to create an interest in them to bring it into circulation.
Lastly, That rapid circulation essentially depends on the decided confidence in Government, always with facility to the present hour realized, and on the variety of different ways all tolerated by it, as so many means proper to favour the activity of commerce. Whatever is gained by commerce is added to the funds of circulation.

If one year is only requisite to complete the circulation in Britain, two or three will be needed in

France; from the prevalence there of the diametrically opposite causes to those above urged with us. Credit and circulation mutually operate on each other, as action and re-action. But what tends to diminish the funds of circulation in both countries alike, is the excess of taxes: For this reason, that, as in all countries their riches are divided into two branches, what circulates in the markets to supply the daily wants of, and furnish the necessaries of life to their inhabitants, and what superfluities of it are in the hands of the money-holders, excessive taxation has the effects to increase the sums requisite in the first instance, consequently to diminish those in the second, and raise the rate of interest.

ENGLAND is not only the best model of a political institution, but also of the government of finance. Its bank, founded in 1693, eighty-four years after that of Amsterdam, is a great improvement on it, as its bills, from the extent of its credit, and that of Government, circulate as specie, and the specie lodged in it to answer their exchange, bears but a moderate proportion to them, to what extent is known only to a few, and variable according to the views of the governor and directors, who in their determinations, are guided by circumstances, and the exigencies of the times. In this arrangement

of things, they are equivalent to the specie in circulation, and by smoothing the wheels of commerce, contribute at the same time to its increase. Estimating the ordinary dividend of the Bank of England at five and one-half *per cent.* and its capital at L. 10,780,000, the neat annual profit, after paying the expence of management, must amount, it is said, to L. 592,000.

Bur the Bank of Amsterdam, in keeping constantly deposited a dead sum, bearing no interest equal to the extent of its bills in circulation, is attended with disadvantages proportional to the advantages of that of England. From the soundness of the principles on which it is founded, that have stood the test of ages, it has been twice imitated in France, without success, once in the rash scheme of Law, and now in the Caisse d'Escompte, the capital of which is 17,500,000 livres ; and such was the progress of its credit, that it had issued bills to the amount of 43,000,000, in October 1783, the period of its failure.

To proceed to the sources of French finance, the earliest tax that presents itself, the most fruitful, and most oppressive to the people, that have at different times revolted against it, is la Gabelle, or the impost on salt. If the origin of it is not to be

placed in the reign of Philip de Valois, but earlier in the fourteenth century, as some historians contend, in that of Philip le Long, certainly its augmentation is, and that contributed to, by our successes at Cressi, which drew from Edward III. the appellation to Philip, not without its ingredient of Attic salt, of author of the Salique law. Such are the rigours attending this impost, that the coasts are lined with officers, to prevent the poor from using the salt water for the preparation of their victuals: And each poor family is obliged to buy a certain quantity, whether they have occasion for it or not. With us the attempt by Sir R. Walpole to augment this tax, after occasioning tumults, and the burning of the minister in effigy, proved abortive: The renewal of it by Lord North, during the American war, was more successful. In the country, where nature has been the most favourable to the production of salt, the inhabitants are the worst supplied. In this article, France, from its climate, enjoys great advantages over us, in the making of it, nature performing there, what art does with us; the sun producing that effect there, that fire does here. It is one of the great sources of the wealth of that kingdom; Cardinal Richelieu, in his Political Testament, compares the salt mines and pits, as sources of wealth, to the mines of Peru and Mexico.

CERTAIN it is, according to Necker's account, they produce a clear revenue of 54,000,000 livres, as much as the land tax, represented by the two 20ths, and four sous a livre in the first. He is, at the same time, for new-modelling it, on account of the excessive rigours attending its collection, the state of intestine war the kingdom is kept in, by the illicit traffic carried on, in its transfer from the provinces exempted from the Gabelle to those subjected to it. His plan is at once simple and efficacious, a moderate equalized duty on salt, throughout the provinces. Besides this great superiority France has over other nations in the extracting of salt from the sea-water, it has the additional one of its salt-pits, or mines of salt, formed in the earth by crystallization, such as are found in Lorraine, Franche Comté, Alsace, Le Trois Evechés. Salt there is also extracted by boiling from sand impregnated with salt-water. That obtained in this process is of an inferior quality, less active, than what is produced in the marshes. Along the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar, and Macco in Arabia, salt is made in the same manner as in France, by the operation of the sun on the salt-water lodged in pits. At the mouth of the Ganges, a different method is adopted, and the earth is impregnated with the saline particles of the sea, afterwards formed into conical heaps, and by means of burnt straw, the salt is ex-

tracted from them. This, with tobacco, are the great objects of taxation, in most of the States on the Continent. It is as ancient as general, it was a Roman tax: Among the Jews also it obtained, from whom it was levied by Demetrius, and Ptolemy King of Egypt. I. Maccabees, x. 29, and xi. 35.; the last quotation mentions the salt-pits.

THE clergy of the kingdom is divided into two classes, that of France, and the *clergé étranger*, the first is exempt from the vingtiemes, and poll tax; in consideration of which exemption, they pay the *Dons gratuits*, which are a little less than their proportions of these taxes. From the same origin, the Latin *Decimus*, with our tithes due to the Church, are derived the French *Decime*, *Dixme*, and *Dixieme*. *La Decime*, or more commonly, *les Decimes*, signify what the Ecclesiastics give the King out of their revenues for the service of the State, and which varies according to exigencies.—*La Dixme*, is what the Faithful give to the Ministers of the Church, or *Seigneurs*. *La Dixieme* is what proportion the King draws of the revenues of the people, arising from moveables and immoveables.

THIS proportion is not the tenth, as the name imports, but varies, as what he receives from the

Church does, according to the exigencies of the State. The other branches of public revenue arise from a discretionary oppressive capitation tax. The three vingtiemes, or land-tax, with four sous in the livre, in the first, make 16 *per cent.* One of the 20ths is to be reduced in the 1787. The 100th penny is levied on all offices of law and finance. La Taille is a grievous tax on agriculture and industry, operating as a check to both, to commerce, cutting it up by the root, as it is increased in proportion to the advances made in husbandry, and levelled against the lower, and most industrious orders of society, the farmers. The other equally oppressive tax, resorted to there, the capitation tax was known at ancient Rome, where it was exclusively levelled against the poor, and that because they had no property to tax. For the same reason, their poverty, they were not inrolled at first in the militia, except on very urgent occasions. Servius Tullius placed them in the 6th class, and the soldiers were taken only from the first five : Till the time of Marius, who, in the Jugurthine war, inrolled all descriptions of men indiscriminately, as we are informed by Sallust : “ *Milites scribere, non more majorum, neque classibus, sed uti cujusque libido erat, capite censos plerosque.*” The traité, or customs, form a great branch of taxation. They are subjected to

all our taxes, except the commutation or window-tax. All levied on the necessaries and luxuries of life, amount, it is calculated, to three-fourths of the subject's annual revenue. They are rented by the Farmers General, a kind of licensed state plunderers, enriching themselves with the spoils of the nation, whom Necker was so anxiously bent on removing from their lucrative employments; but whose power and influence, arising from their great riches, have been sufficient to defeat every successive attempt made against them. A different rule is applicable to the *pays d' états*, the provinces governed by their own states, from what regulates the rest of the kingdom in revenue ordonnances; each province has its proportion allotted it of the public money, and the mode of levying it is left to its states, in which the three orders of society are represented, the Clergy, Noblesse, and Commons, or third Estate: Their contributions, as those of the Church, are termed *Dons gratuits*, though compulsory, as those levied in the other provinces. There are other taxes the States are subjected to, besides these levied in their own provinces. Necker makes our contributions 160,000,000 of livres less than those of France. Their total amount he states at 427,000,000. Nor do they differ more in their quantity than quality, as it is the poor of France

that chiefly suffer in the taxation, the rich in Britain.

To such a situation has the restless ambition of that country reduced itself and us : Not to mention the states of bankruptcy, it has repeatedly experienced in its wars with us, the desperate expedients it had recourse to, in debasing the coin in a new coinage of 1786, attended with irreparable detriment to the State, while all its efforts have proved ineffectual to shake our credit, to this moment entire, the only alleviating circumstance attending our exhausted finances.

RELATIVE STATE

OF THE

RESOURCES and their Concomitant
DRAINS in the two COUNTRIES.

TO the same unquestionable authority, whose calculations, in the investigation of finance, stood us in such stead, in this stage of the enquiry also, as our surest guide, are we to have recourse.

He estimates the extent and population of France to be 26,951 square leagues, 25 to a degree, 24,676,000 inhabitants, or 916 individuals for every square league. He computes the inhabitants of Paris from 640,000 to 680,000, and the revenue the King draws from it, to exceed that of the three kingdoms, Denmark, Sweden and Sardinia.

THE population of Great Britain and Ireland is estimated at about ten millions, two are allowed to

Ireland. Such is the balance against us, whether men or money constitute the riches of a country. It will require a very great disproportion of external or borrowed strength, arising from foreign settlements and trade, to do more than counterbalance so wide a disproportion as is against us, of real internal strength.

WE have seen what Britain has been. There is that ultimate point, which all finite human affairs arrive at, in their advances to perfection, beyond which there is no proceeding in the same direction, but from which they have their retrograde motion, and invariably return to the same, or a similar state to that from whence they rose. That point Britain has seen, and fatally for it, has now past. Whether France is in the same situation, is not so certain, but it would rather appear it is not. As Britain rose, France fell—as Britain falls, the genius of France raises its head. If, in any past period, the greatness of that monarchy can be said to have been carried to its height, it was in the boasted reign of Lewis XIV. If a Prince can be supposed to have advanced it to the pinnacle of elevation, whose principles were such, as to have led him to the breach of the treaties, and most solemn engagements he had entered into, whose avowed want of faith and honour, notwithstanding his pompous title of *Grand*, by his

abject flatterers conferred on him, raised up against him a general confederacy of the principal powers of Europe. It was that Prince, who, contrary to his most solemn protestations, and who could not avail himself of the bare pretext of justifying the violation of them on Machiavelian principles of reasons of state and views of interest, as the measure was as repugnant to his country's welfare, as to his own honour and religion ; it was he, that at the instigation, by the intrigues of Madame Maintenon in 1685, revoked the Edict of Nantz, the toleration act of the kingdom ; and in its revocation, involved the proscription of so many thousands of the valuable Huguenot manufacturers in the silk, and other branches.

THE toleration that Henry IV. surnamed the Great, in 1598 extended to them ; Lewis XIV. also surnamed the Great, deprived them of. With the Edict, was coëval the establishment of the manufactures, with the repeal of it, their decline. Under the tolerant Prince, were established both the useful and fine arts, in the various branches of silk, tapestry, pottery, glass, architecture, water-works, gardening. Under him the marine recovered. Under the persecuting Monarch, the useful in general were suffered to decay, while only the finer arts of peace met with encouragement, but both too much

sacrificed to the art of war ; in a state of which, with few and short intervals of relaxation, he was engaged, from the cradle to the grave, during one of the longest reigns that history records. The one Prince was the friend and ally of the free and reformed states of England and Holland, the other the enemy of both. He encouraged the growth of a pernicious luxury, and spirit of gallantry in his court, which, from it spread through the kingdom, among all ranks of people, from that kingdom to this, the effects of which still remain in both. In the art of war, which he devoted himself to, his genius was calculated for the detail, and the present exigencies, not for the extensive plans and enlarged arrangements that looked to futurity. These he received from his Generals, and Ministers, the Turennes, Condes, and Colberts. In war, he encouraged all sorts of stratagem and treachery ; such, even, it is said, as aimed at the life of the Prince of Orange.

THEN were the limits of the kingdom on every side greatly extended : But it was a false glory, obtained at the expence of the sufferings and oppressions of the people. Then was the æra of its rapid and signal conquests—it was then too, that, in the midst of its career, it felt a check, and that a severe one, from the British arms ; till which repulse, flushed with its former successes, it grasped at nothing short of the subjection of the whole Netherlands, Austrian and

Dutch, with Holland itself. The decisive interposition of our forces, preserved the balance of power of Europe, and reduced the French to the necessity of circumscribing their territories within far narrower limits, than they had projected. The frontier we then prescribed them, they have not since transgressed.

THEIR marine was at that time in its infancy, and however extraordinary efforts were made for its increase by the ablest minister they ever had, Colbert, still it was not probable that in one reign it should have had both its rise and completion. As Bacon says, *in rebus quibuscunque difficilioribus, non expectandum, ut quis simul, et serat, et metat, sed præparatione opus est, ut per gradus maturescant.* Serm. Fidel.

45. The checks from time to time it received from our navy, retarded its advancement ; and at the close of the war 1756, it was left by us in a state of almost total annihilation, the credit and finances of the nation ruined, it having found itself on the third year of that war in a similar situation with Rome, after the battle of Cannæ, when the plate of individuals was brought to the mint, to be converted into specie. It was then we set bounds to their power by sea, as before we had done on land.

BUT that only served to excite a zeal in the people for the restoration of their decayed marine: The exertions of a Colbert seemed again to appear, a spirit of emulation was spread through the provinces, and chief towns, that vied with each other in the equipment of ships of war, at their own expence, for the service of the State. With their marine revived their credit so rapidly, that in the American war they borrowed on more advantageous terms than in the preceding peace, Necker tells us, and that owing to his own prudent regulations, the retrenchments he made in the national expenditure, the reform of abuses, the order he introduced into the finances. The extraordinary efforts then made by them, and before in the reign of Lewis XIV. in the one instance to create, in the other to restore the marine, were, in proportion to the differences of circumstances, the widely different state of ancient and modern naval tactics, the same with those made by the Romans under the Consul Duillius in the first Punic war, when totally ignorant of maritime affairs, a Carthaginian galley being wrecked on their coast, served as a model for them to construct and equip a fleet, which in three months time put to sea, came up with, beat the naval forces of Carthage. Their pointed ordinances and regulations for their marine, may well serve as models of instruction for ours.

SUCH a rapid revival of their naval strength enabled them in the late immediately subsequent war, again with better success than ever to dispute with us the empire of the sea. Till the time comes, when they are not only in a condition of disputing it with us, but altogether wresting it from us; or, when we have lost it, as in the course of things we must, and they shall have assumed it, it does not appear, that their monarchy has reached its highest pitch of elevation.

THE means left them to accomplish this end, are what remains further to be considered in a cursory view of the comparative strength of the two kingdoms. The great test of such a comparison, and what seems decisive of the question, that on which most of the other circumstances that are to be weighed in the discussion chiefly depend, is what has been already touched on, the decline of the one country, and rising state of the other. The trade of France has long been on the increase, ours on the decline; and if it continues to suffer as it has done from the beginning of the American war, it will soon leave us overmatched by our rivals. The debts of both countries being equal, the revenues so unequal, it follows, that the consumpt of our resources is proportionally much greater than of theirs.

THE state of agriculture is widely different in the two countries ; and it is apprehended, that in this respect the disadvantages are on our side. If Sir Thomas More, in his early day, had cause to complain of the decay of tillage, and the great increase of grass inclosures, what, and how great must be the subject of complaint at this day, as their increase from that time to this has been proportioned to the growth of luxury ; and such is the enormous excess of it, and so has pervaded all ranks and descriptions of men, from the highest to the lowest, that, added to the rapaciousness of landlords, who find their account in that mode of cultivation, it has made the rage for pasture-lands almost universal. What is the profit of individuals in such a system, it is conceived, is national loss. Such was the state of Italy under the Emperors, it was full of pleasure-grounds, and, strictly speaking, was but the garden of Rome. The labourers were in Sicily, Africa and Egypt, the gardeners in Italy ; the lands were cultivated only by the slaves of Roman citizens. This change seems to have been felt in the days of Tacitus, who, in the 12th book of his Annals, says, that formerly corn was carried out of Italy to the most remote provinces, and still it is not barren ; but in preference to it we cultivate Africa and Egypt. The distributions of corn, either gratuitous, or at a low price, shew the dif-

couragement of tillage there. The conquered provinces, instead of being taxed, furnished a tenth part of their produce to the republic, at the rate of sixpence *per* peck. In its stead, the product of the grass fields was not for the foreign market, but home consumption, to feed luxury; of course, the supply of the Roman market was altogether derived from them, as Italy, by the low price, was precluded from the competition.

THE state of agriculture is the third, last, and most improved state of human society, the basis of all the useful arts: We having passed that, are fast returning to the second stage, that of pasture. We consequently, in the most fertile years, diminish greatly the exportation of grain, if now we ever have more than supplies ourselves, in barren years we increase the importation of it; and this is turning against us a very valuable branch of trade, which we formerly enjoyed to a great extent. Depopulation is besides the inevitable consequence of such a combination of things; the large engrossing farms are given way to, from the profit attending, and, by means of inclosures, the facility of managing them with few hands. The former small occupiers of land, to make room for their successors, are driven into towns, some to work, others to starve; some to beg, others to steal; all

to suffer in their healths, in the change from the purer air of the country, to the close, stagnated air of the town; from the labour of the fields, to the sedentary occupations of the house. So it is the country is thinned of its inhabitants, the poor-rolls are increased, crimes multiplied. Add to this detail, the decay of English yeomanry, the nerves and sinews of the State.

THE French husbandry, very different from this, with the advantage of the finest climate, consists almost entirely of tillage; the appearance of the country is altogether different, the fields are highly dressed, beautifully diversified with woods and woodlands, without inclosures, forming in general the richest landscapes. Nor do the great monopolizing farms prevail among them, that are known with us; of course, all the ruinous consequences that have been enumerated, attending our system, are avoided in theirs.

THE natural advantage of our insular situation above them and all Europe, is on all hands confessed; it is improved by the efforts of art. If, in the number and size of our canals, we do not now rival Holland, we are in a train of doing so, by perseverance in the same line of conduct. In this line, it is astonishing what the exertions of an individual have

done, and how he has illustrated a noble descent by the patriotic example he has given the nation, which the nation with the same spirit and zeal has followed. Next to the great extent of sea coast we are possessed of, there are no surer means of promoting foreign trade, than this encouragement of the home or inland navigation : As on the free circulation of the one, depends that of the other, so nothing can facilitate that freedom of intercourse between the different parts of the kingdom so much as canals. To trace an analogy between the bodies natural and politic, it is in the one, as in the other, the freer the circulation of the blood round the heart, the easier will it perform its functions at the extremities.

Our neighbours have not been inattentive to inland navigation, as is seen in the famous Languedoc canal, executed in Louis the Fourteenth's reign, which, by its connection with the Garonne, joins the two seas. The junction of the Seine and Loire by the Briare canal begun by Henry IV. is another instance of their exertions in that line.

THERE is a project on the carpet for the revival of the attempt formerly begun, but without success, from the difficulties thrown in the way by nature, in occasioning much mining and underground ope-

rations, of joining the Seine and Somme, by means of an intermediate communication between ~~the~~ Somme and Oise, as there is at present between the Seine and Oise.

OF all the provinces, not governed by the States, Normandy is that that has most of English liberty and cultivation, owing to its long participation of English laws and government. In it are the richest proprietors, and wealthiest farmers of the kingdom; and it is thence that incomparably the greatest revenue is drawn to the crown. It has its charter, its cry of liberty, styled *La clameur de Haro*, a corruption of Rollo I. Duke of Normandy. The horses of Lower Normandy are the best in the kingdom. In this province there are establishments of the woollen manufacture at Louviers and Elbæuf, as in Picardy at Abbeville, and as at Sedan and other places; so much are we rivalled in this branch, our staple manufacture.

THERE are but few towns, Abbeville, St Quintin, and others, where the civil power is not under the control of the military.

THE fortunes of individuals are, in general, so circumscribed, so fettered with entails, with no means of enlargement from trade or agriculture,

that they may remain at the same low ebb for centuries, unless a miser intervenes to retrieve them.

IN the time of Lewis XII. descent was not the only title to nobility, but together with it was the profession of arms; another source was the acquisition of a feigniory or noble fief, and consequent service in war rendered to the Leige Lord. That extensive system of Noblesse subsisted in France till the reign of Henry III. when it received a limitation from the 258th article of the ordonnance of Blois in the year 1579, which suppressed the acquisition of it by noble fiefs: And a further limitation from the edict of Henry IV. which barred the other channel through which it was derived, military service. The edict of Lewis XV. in 1750, the last regulation on the head, is a restoration to the army of Noblesse. So that now the titles that confer it are, hereditary right, the king's letters, the military profession, and certain civil offices in the departments of law and finance.

By an edict of Lewis XIV. in 1669, Commerce is not derogatory of Noblesse: But it seems to have influenced the conduct of the higher ranks only negatively, and to have given no bias, or active turn to their exertions in trade, or agriculture, to both

which their genius and spirit, derived from their high sense of honour are so averse.

THE want of example and encouragement from the great, in patriotic measures in either line, retard much the progress of the arts and manufactures, which stand in need of the fostering hand of patronage. Not to mention, that the indulgence, by this edict, extended to trade, is not general, but confined to the wholesale trader, to the exclusion of the retailer.

It is singular, that in a country where such high notions of Noblesse are entertained, there should be no such institution as a Herald's office, to check the abuses of individuals, in assuming what coats of arms, titles, coronets and supporters they please; a species of licentiousness that our liberty and commerce do not tolerate.

ALL this system of Noblesse is repugnant to commercial regulations, particularly that part of it relative to the purchase of employments that ennoble, as when capitals are procured, that might serve for the extension of trade, it is then they are so misapplied and taken out of the circle.

IN such a combination of things, the means of the improvement and gratification of taste, on which the refinement of the arts depend, are very deficient. Thus it is we see, as great a resemblance in the different parts of that country, and the residences of its proprietors, as there is an uniformity in the manners of its inhabitants themselves. The mansion-house is generally part of the court of offices, and altogether form one square; and adjoining is the garden geometrically laid out, all in form, all art, no nature. There is no nation that has carried gardening to the pitch of perfection the British has, in so much studying nature in the plan of pleasure-grounds.

THE distribution of the Parliaments, to the number of thirteen, in the provinces of that kingdom, is well calculated to prevent drains from them to the capital, and preserve the due equilibrium between the different parts so ill provided for, in our engrossing system of an only Parliament for such a kingdom as Great Britain.

THE capitals of both kingdoms are of far too enormous a size, and in nearly the same extent, have far exceeded the limits proportioned to the rest of the respective countries they belong to; but there is a wide difference in the extent of the countries,

and Paris is much more proportioned to France, than London is to Britain.

THEY have not our turnpikes, but, in their stead, statute-labour in some provinces, in others assessment. In Austrian Flanders, as with us, it is the traveller that pays for the reparation of the highways, which is the most equitable method: The British tolls are preferable to the French *corvées*. It is not for government to take the management of them into their own hands; for, if at present there are abuses committed in them, there would then be much greater. There is great negligence shown by our Commissioners in not attending to the proper width of the highways. In the principal lines of communication between the two capitals, either in the eastern, western, or middle direction, they are in some places so narrow, as scarcely to admit of a horse passing a carriage; and that in a land of commerce filled with large waggons, the course of which must consequently be much obstructed.

THE regulations across the Channel for posting, printed by the King's authority, the postilions wearing the King's livery, and one man only at each post allowed to furnish post-horses to travellers, partake of the nature of an absolute monarchy, and are not calculated for the freedom of ours.

THE excellence of the police, the vigilance of the Marechaussée, are great preventatives against highway robberies, thefts, and other infractions of the laws, breaches of the peace so frequent with us. Nor are the public executions for crimes either so common, but in their stead condemnation to the galleys for a stated time, or for life. The police, which had its rise under Henry IV. has been carried to a very high degree of perfection; but such a police, with all its boasted advantages, is only calculated for such a government. Its arbitrary proceedings, and secret accusations, are not for ours, which can admit of none but such as are bound by fixed and known laws. What it is to-day, of old was that of ancient Rome. The Dictator and Censorships were striking proofs of the continual infringements of liberty in that constitution.

THE soil in both countries bears a strong resemblance, abounding in chalk, flint, and limestone; but the Barrow limestone in Leicestershire has properties peculiar to itself, in resisting the impressions of air and water. It is what is used in the aqueduct bridges of our canals; and such is its singular quality, that the longer it is under water, the harder and more impenetrable it is found. It serves for incrustations on houses, and is preferable on trial to any compositions that have been invent-

ed for that purpose, consisting of Italian earth or litholium.

WOOD abounds in both countries, tho^t of different sizes and qualities, the English forests of oak being unrivalled in their ship-timber; the robur, the chief species, is peculiar to them. That great naval advantage, which we have so long enjoyed, is now at length beginning to fail us: Those stately forests, which nature destined for the supply of our ships of burden alone, and to the consumption of which they were equal, have groaned so frequently under the ax, bled so profusely, are so exhausted in the additional supply of ships of war, as to be threatened with annihilation. The state of the growth of oak should be a constant enquiry of the Legislature; it served to raise us to the highest pitch of national prosperity; now, our very national existence depends on it. To the drains of it should be proportioned the supplies and renewal of the plantations. Without our oaks, our natural bulwark the sea is of little avail; both together may prove an insurmountable barrier in the hour of danger.

THE grains of both countries are the same. We have nothing to oppose to their fine wines but our hops, mum, perry, and cyder. In our rich mines, we enjoy a decided superiority. To our coal, so pro-

fitable a branch of trade, and the trade so excellent a nursery for seamen, they have no fuel to oppose, but wood and peat, which we too have in common with them. They have coal of an inferior quality in High Guienne, Flanders, and other places. Iron, copper, and lead-mines they have, but not to the extent, or in the perfection we have, ours having stood the test of ages, as inexhaustible sources of wealth. But the longest known, richest, and most famous, in which we excel all nations, are the tin-mines. They were known and traded to in the days of the Carthaginian naval greatness; but those of them now wrought by us of modern times in Cornwall, were probably as little known to that people, as what were by them then wrought are now to us: What they wrought were not in the main land, but in the adjoining Scilly islands, to which they gave the name of Cassiterides, of Greek extraction, from the tin they contained, now almost entirely swallowed up by the sea.

Our breed of horses, of the race and hunting kinds, are remarkably fine; the first tends to the corruption of morals in promoting luxury, gaming, and dissipation: Both the first and second kinds, in another respect, are not without their bad effects to the country, in the great extent of it they occupy, to the exclusion of other more valuable articles of com-

merce, and the labour bestowed on them : The balance, they contribute to in our favour, is founded on false principles of political œconomy.

In the hardware, cutlery, earthen wares, we excel them, as they do us in the silk, and silk-velvet. In the cotton-velvets of Manchester, the balance lies as much in our favour, greatly contributed to by the invention of the curious machines, constructed on similar principles with Sir Thomas Lomb's silk-machine at Derby, which, in lessening the labour bestowed on the manufactures, of course lessens the price of them. The discovery of these machines to foreigners, will deprive us of the advantages we enjoy over them, and bring us to a level with them in the market. In the Seve porcelane, the advantage lies on their side ; on ours, in all the branches of leathern manufacture. In the Gobblins, tapestry and lace manufactures, they have a decided superiority, and till of late, had in that of the large looking-glasses, in which we now rival them, notwithstanding the disadvantages, our manufacturers have so long laboured under, imposed by the act that lays the duty on the materials employed in the work, and not the work itself. In the other branches of the glass-works we excel them.

THE staple manufactures of both countries have suffered mutual encroachments from each other ; the woollen is vied with in that of the Vanrobais, established at Abbeville, under the protection of Colbert. This was the first in point of date in France, and still is perhaps in point of excellence ; there are others at Louviers, Elbœuf, Sedan, &c. But as long as our wool is not exported, openly or clandestinely, out of the kingdom, as the superior quality of it, and the workmanship remain at their present pitch, there is little danger in the competition. The Spanish wool alone is used in the French superfine cloths, except those manufactured in Languedoc, but a proportion of it in most of ours : The high price of foreign materials overbalances the low rate of home labour, so, as in addition to the other advantages on the side of the English staple commodity, to lessen much the rivalship in the foreign market. The first severe blow their staple, the silk manufacture received, which proved the beginning of ours, was the proscription of the Huguenots. The discovery of Sir Thomas Lomb's machine at Derby, secured us success in the rivalship.

THE abolition of the tolls, those fetters on the internal commerce, that interrupts it on the borders of the provinces and entrance into towns, the effects

of the gradual formation of the kingdom, enters into Necker's plan of reform, and with them that of the various clogs on manufactures. His political institutions are at length attended to, and now under the consideration of the Assembly of the Notables, that of Provincial Assemblies, with the suppression of the 20ths, alteration of the Gabelle, or tax on salt, and other burdens on the lower classes of the people, reform in the several departments of the State, in-feeoffment of the Royal domains, including the Royal forests for 99 years, &c.

A SUPERIOR taste prevails in the cultivation of the fine arts in Britain, of late improved by Hogarth's Analysis of Beauty, and application to the admired models of the Etruscan Antiquities.

NONE of the least of the advantages on our side, is the exemption we enjoy from the burden of their standing army, and fortified frontier towns. 197,000 men, 31,000 horse, are the numbers of the regular troops, besides 6000 militia serving for six years, to which service all are liable, from five feet upwards, and from sixteen to forty years of age. In the garrison towns, for want of barracks sufficient, the regulars are distributed in the houses of the inhabitants, and furnished with fire, candle, linen and salt. Not to mention the drawback they

are on population, the injury they do manufacturing towns, in raising the price of provisions, and the introduction of luxury into them.

THE words of their countryman, the profound Montesquieu, on both these heads, has had no effect on their councils. Of standing armies, he says, "They are the source of national poverty, in the midst of plenty; one nation giving way to the mistaken policy of them, forces the rest to follow the example in self-defence; so the contagion spreads, becomes universal, and, at length, after all their fruitless exhausting efforts, they find themselves in the same situation, in respect of their relative strength, as if they had agreed by general concert, not to keep a single regiment on foot."

ON places of strength, his remarks are: That in the Roman Empire they increased, in proportion to its decline; they were unknown in the times of the Republic; the world was conquered without them: The Emperors begun them, the banks of the Danube were fortified, and other barriers gradually extended, as weak efforts to curb the irruptions of the barbarous nations. In no reign were they so multiplied as in Justinian's, when the government was the weakest, and the Empire almost altogether overrun. He, then, in his reflections, passes to mo-

den history, to that of his own country, and says : It never was in a weaker state than when all its small towns were walled in and fortified, during the Norman and English invasions. He further traces a surprising parallel, between ancient and modern history, in the irruptions of the Goths and Normans, both similar in their cause and effect ; in the one instance, the terror of the Roman arms, forcing back the nations on the North ; and the North no longer able to contain them, nor the relaxation in the Roman discipline to repel them, poured them from its frozen loins, on the enervated inhabitants of the South : In the other instance, the oppressions of Charlemagne drove them back to the same latitudes, from whence they, a second time, returned as the first.

BRITAIN more fortunate in this respect, knows no other walls of defence raised by art, than her wooden walls, avails herself of no other ramparts or bulwarks, than what nature has furnished her with in the ocean that surrounds her.

OUR marine and military hospitals, our marine society, are great national and charitable institutions, but exceeded far in number by those of France, where in every considerable town, that has barracks for the quartering of troops, there is like-

wise an hospital for the sick and lame soldiers and seamen, distinct from that for the infirm citizens ; and the diseased in the land and sea forces travelling to any of these towns, and furnished with certificates, on producing them before the treasurer of each town they pass through, are defrayed their expences to the adjoining one, till they reach the place of their residence. These excellent regulations soften the calamities of war.

WE want their register for seamen, as inadmissible in our free constitution : In France its effects are found pernicious, in the chagrin and disgust for the service it occasions. We from necessity submit to the temporary sacrifice of liberty pressing, as tolerated by our common and statute law, rather than this perpetual surrender of it, as the least of the two evils.

THE same spirit of travelling does not prevail in the French, or any other nation, that does in the British. Temporary residence in foreign countries often places us in the proper point of view to contemplate the real interests of our own : Contrasts, comparisons, resemblances, and analogies are great criterions of truth in political science ; it happens frequently in respect of them, as of those of morals, that the near relation they bear to us, effaces the

shades of difference between them, and suspends the functions of the distinguishing faculty : It happens, in respect of the objects of both sciences, as of visual, that the too near approach confuses and confounds the sight, in the contemplation of them.

THE causes that excite this passion to such a degree in our island, are, amusement, instruction, health, business, œconomy. The indulgence of it is attended with its advantages and disadvantages, both to the individuals, that yield to it, and the country they are natives of. The country suffers doubly, in what it loses of the wealth of its inhabitants, and in what foreigners gair. Still if inclination, if the natural attachment to one's native country, are not sufficient to retain its citizens within its limits, it is in vain that force is resorted to, to restrain them ; it is in vain to entertain the notion of converting a country into a state-prison. The gratification of the desire to travel, in general, is the result of a propensity common to us with most other nations, (though not given way to by them, often from inability, to the same extent) of satisfying a laudable curiosity of extending the views, enlarging the conceptions, softening the manners, melting down all narrow prejudices and contracted habits in the character of the citizen of the world.

WHEN such are the fruits of travelling, they soon repay the losses sustained by the country, in the absence of its members, by the lasting impressions they leave on it, on their return. If such fruits are but very rarely reaped from it, and we are told that, *Cœlum, non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt*; still the possibility even, if not the probability, of a nation's deriving such benefits from it, should never be attempted to be excluded. As it is the scope of poetry to convey instruction in the most pleasing dress, there are too celebrated epic poems, one ancient, the other modern, the *Odyssey* and *Telemachus*, where the advantages are displayed attending visits to foreign countries by princes, who, in so acquiring the knowledge of their laws, manners and customs, learn thence better how to govern their own. The praises of him are harmoniously sung,

Qui mores hominum multorum vidit, et urbes.

THE people of antiquity travelled little, yet, among the most enlightened nations, the Greeks, Pythagoras, Herodotus, Solon, Plato, and their other learned sages, visited Egypt, there passed years in study, and thence derived to their country the arts and sciences; a fruitful source of which proved the laws which Cecrops the Egyptian, and first Athenian king, introduced with him from his

native country. The Romans travelled into Greece, whence they first borrowed their laws, then their philosophy and taste in the fine arts. It is so the English Miltons and Addisons, following the example of those celebrated nations, with the same success, have visited in Rome the monuments of ancient Roman grandeur, have added to the superior growth of English genius the cultivation and influence derived from other favourable climates: By the study of other languages, have asserted the freedom of their own, relieved it from the fetters of rhyme imposed on it by its Gothic framers, as derived from their Rhunic songs. Thus Milton's lion paws to get free. It may have been in the feat of ancient Roman literature, with his mind fully possessed of the images it conveyed, that the idea first occurred to our Bard, of vindicating to his native tongue the liberty of the Latin, the stock on which, with the Celtic, the common primary source, it is engrafted, and the other modern languages of Europe: As out of the ruins of the empire are formed the greatest part of the states in which they are spoken, so in its language and laws, Rome still seems to retain its dominion over the world.

NECKER estimates the sums spent by travellers in France in time of peace, at an average of thir-

ty millions a-year, considering it as one of the best branches of its commerce. No small portion of this sum is contributed to by the British, to the detriment of their own country, in the abstraction from it of both their persons and their property to such excess as we see. The taxes are evaded by the absent members of the State; consequent deficiencies occur in the supplies raised for the exigencies of Government, which the resident members are subjected to.

BUT if the branches of reform recommended were adopted, that numerous class of travellers that come under the description of œconomists, would be kept at home. For what but necessity can induce such numbers of British subjects to relinquish their own, to be naturalized in foreign lands; where, under far worse governments, worse climates many, some not better, if so good, and some few only preferable, in point of soil, scarcely any entering into competition, the inhabitants are retained by that attachment which connects all mankind with their respective native countries? What but bad policy can make our islanders renounce so strong and natural a propensity? In this Island, all things equal, all the means and conveniencies of life the same as in other countries, with its advantages of the security of property,

constitutional liberty, the reverse should hold, and its people, of all others, should be the most attached to it, and with them strangers.

WAR even and the droit d'Aubaine, when both conspired, did not discourage the numerous and frequent resort of our countrymen across the channel. Now that both have ceased to affect us, in the liberal spirit of Necker's reform, the resort, in proportion to the encouragements, must be increased.

FROM the abuse, as well as excess of this spirit, have flowed the most pernicious national effects: From the gallantry and dissolute morals of the court of Lewis XIV. that Charles II. during his exile, was so early infected with, and which, at the Restoration, he imported with him into the kingdom, is to be dated that depravation of British manners, and degeneracy of the national character at this day so widely diffused. To the same source are to be traced the humiliating measures of that reign, the sale of Dunkirk, the stain he suffered in becoming tributary to the French king, the consequent impolitic Dutch wars, with the disgrace at Chatham, and other sacrifices made to the prevalent maxim of the times, *Carthago est delenda*.

NOR was the corruption in those early days confined to the court, the reputedly most virtuous and patriotic characters of the age, it appears, did not escape the contagion: French gold, French intrigue, and secret influence, found access every where, pervaded all ranks and denominations of men, embraced all parties. From which period downwards to the present, the evil has been continually spreading, luxury progressively increasing, the infection of example becoming daily more predominant, the communication more frequent and close with the country that has been the original of all our political and moral declension, that are so intimately blended. Need we then be surprised at the variety, magnitude, and extent of the ills complained of, when places of the highest trust are objects of traffic, set up to the highest bidder; when merit no longer is looked to as a necessary qualification in the disposal of them, but preferable to it the venal garb. How can it be expected of those that by party spirit, cabal and intrigue, insinuate themselves into offices of dignity and trust, or who avowedly purchase them, but that they will in their turn sell the people who first sold themselves, agreeable to all the rules of trade. It is this corrupt venality, this unnatural species of commerce, that has brought us to our present situation, that calls so loudly for reform.

Hinc illæ lacrymæ, caput hoc et causa malorum. Hence the spirit of emulation and laudable zeal in their country's cause, that actuated our ancestors, is converted into a spirit of intrigue, gaming and horse racing. Their martial exercises and exploits are succeeded by scenes of dissipation, up from the public breakfastings, through the card-assemblies, to the midnight revels of the masquerade. No surer symptom of Roman decay was there, than the venality of the public offices of trust. Virtue, the spring and vital principle of the republic, was then totally extirpated. It is like the grievance felt and complained of in France, the venality of the charges. Here the parallel, already insisted on, between the once flourishing, renowned Athens, and this empire, recurs, in the fortune that attended it, after its fall, at the close of the Peloponnesian war. When the national character was sunk, the patriotic virtue exhausted, then it was that that city was betrayed to the public enemy, by its demagogues and orators; the secret influence of Philip penetrated into the councils of Greece, before he attempted its conquest by open arms. It was by no rapid strides, or avowed declarations he proceeded; he wore the mask that was to conceal his designs, and did not disclose them till ripe for execution. A main preparatory step and master-piece of policy, was his securing to himself a seat in the

national council the Amphictions. The consequent influence it gained him on their deliberations, joined with that on their leaders of the Macedonian gold, to the torrents of which corruption, that broke down all barriers, in vain was opposed the thunder of Demosthenes, at which he trembled, served as preludes to the decisive day of Cheronea.

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R E F O R M.

I N this age of reform we live in, many are the objects that present themselves for the hand of the reformer, some, flagrant abuses calling aloud for the ax to be laid to the root of the tree, others, lesser errors that have crept in, standing in need only of the gentler touch of correction; but which, if altogether neglected, will prove like the secret worm in a hidden corner of the embankment, that, by gradually gnawing, and imperceptibly undermining, opens a way for the floods to enter, and inundating, bear all down before them. We have long since redressed our Religious grievances; it is for us now to remedy the State disorders. Let us now, at the same, or nearly the same period in this century, that the Revolution was effected in the last, proceed with our other Reformation, in it to complete the glorious work of the Revolution. Auspicious preludes, it is hoped, are the commission for the reduction of the national debt, the sale of the Crown-lands, the consolidating and simplifying the customs, excise and stamps.

IN this Island, situated in a temperate climate, enriched in general with a fertile soil, where the united beauties of nature and art far surpass those of all other countries, the bounty of nature, or rather the Author of nature, is not more conspicuous in the barrier it is surrounded with, than in furnishing it with all the materials to avail itself of that rampart: And that it might appropriate its famous oaks to that use alone, and not consume it for fuel, in enriching its bowels with coal for all the comforts, necessaries, and elegancies of life, the works of art and industry; as materials for extracting chemical preparations from, as materials, in another and more direct manner, subservient to naval purposes, for extracting tar from. In the same manner is its natural bulwark stored with inexhaustible sources of wealth and strength, in the fisheries, if it will but avail itself of them; and that it may, to them, as to the primary object of reform, the nation's most serious attention is entreated.

As a preliminary to this most important national object, the right claimed by a rival commercial people of fishing on our coasts, merits some enquiry; a right, which however originally ill founded, they now fortify by the plea of immemorial prescription. It has been the foundation of their maritime greatness. Most prudently have they profited of our in-

attention to the gifts of nature so liberally diffused around our coasts. Largely have they reaped the advantage of it. Our seas, they avow, were their original mines, their gold mines: With these they withstood the riches of the gold mines of Peru and Mexico. From the British Seas, they derived to themselves the sources of British liberty, in conjunction with the assistance, in its cause, afforded them by the British nation. Out of gratitude for which assistance, and the protection given their infant republic, they offered the sovereignty of it to Queen Elisabeth, which she, with her characteristic magnanimity, declined the acceptance of. We who, at the time of the protection given them, in that glorious reign, were the discoverers of the Greenland whale-fishery, did not attempt to preclude the Dutch, and other nations from a share in it; at the same time, that we cannot, or will not share with them in the fisheries on our own coasts. The preservation of the fisheries is an object of the daily prayers offered up in the churches of Holland. While they have proved such funds of wealth to our rivals in commerce, they have also been nurseries of seamen, that have disputed with us the empire of the ocean. These are capital objects to a trading and warlike nation. Too late have we attended to them, unless by the rapid improvement of the internal navigation, in the proposed canals that nature has ren-

dered so obvious, and so very practicable, the extension of bounties, erection of towns, with the aid of judicious regulations, we redeem the past errors, bring the trade into its proper channel, and so lessen, if not altogether prevent the returns of our neighbours at stated times, to ravish from us these our peculiar advantages, as they ravished from the sea their plains.

IN a period of our history, not very remote, Holland in its political situation with respect to Britain, was viewed in the same degree of rivalry, that Carthage was to Rome. It is well known what impolitic measures, how perverse of our true interests this misrepresented parallel drew along with it ;—*Carthago est delenda* was the prevalent cry of the infatuated times. It is well if that maxim we were so influenced by, in the politics of last century, is not retorted on us in this by that nation, against which it was then so wantonly levelled, then when we were united with those against it, it now is against us. With such a complete reversal of measures, so total a retaliation of alliances, a reversal and retaliation of the maxim is naturally enough connected. But first it must compose its troubles, restore the old form of government, or substitute in its room a new.

THE consideration of this branch of their trade never entered into the competition, to which alone it should have been directed. In asserting the sole and exclusive privilege of fishing on our own coasts, we were supported by the law of nature and nations, by every maxim of sound policy and public expediency. There cannot be a doubt, but the nation would quickly take the alarm at the appearance of ships of war hovering about the coasts, and riding in an insulting manner in the Channel. If the crowded sails of Dutch vessels swarming round us, and their stated returns, are of no alarming nature, they surely cannot but appear as the plunderers of our just and lawful property, which we by our negligence have forfeited to their industry, only so long as we do not exercise the same. It is not on Machiavelian principles, that the merits of this question are to be rested; his views of interest, reasons of state, are not to be urged in its support, as it may be traced to far nobler sources of right. Not but what the Dutch system of policy would amply justify us in relying solely on such an authority, as they cannot avail themselves of any other, in acting in such direct violation of their learned Grotius's principles, by contending for a *mare clausum* on their own coasts, and obstructing the free navigation of the Scheldt; and, on the other hand, in conformity to

his views, in maintaining a *mare liberum* on our coasts, with a free navigation, and right of fishing there. Grotius is, at least, consistent in the principles he lays down—he aims at no *mare liberum* on the British, and a *mare clausum* on the Dutch coasts. So that his countrymen are reduced to the dilemma of adopting with him, on either side of the seas, a *mare liberum*, or with Selden rejecting it. For it is Machiavel only, and such principles as he inculcates, that can prompt our neighbours to side, so very inconsistently and contradictorily in this great question, with their own countryman at our homes, with ours at theirs.

To reconcile the contradiction, they may have recourse to the distinction kept in view between the sea and navigable rivers in the Dutch treatise; but that distinction could only stand them in stead, on the supposition, that the whole of the navigation of that great river was theirs exclusively, in consequence of an exclusive property enjoyed by them on both the sides of it, and towards the upper extremity in Antwerp, the great object of the navigation and contest for it.

THAT treatise, as the title prefixed to it bears, was written expressly with a view to a vindication of the free navigation of the Indian seas to the

Dutch, in opposition to the exclusive privileges claimed in them by the Portuguese. Through the whole of the dissertation the author makes a distinction between the main ocean, and the narrow seas; and while in the former he so strenuously insists on the uncontrolled, unlimited right of navigation and fishing; all that he contends for in the latter, is the sole right of navigation: And that too in his greater work *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*, he subjects to certain restrictions, tolls and customs, in favour of those nations that have facilitated it, in the erection of light-houses, placing of buoys; and by such acts, together with the command over them, given by the contiguous shores, have there established a kind of property. In neither of the works does he once touch on the British seas, or the resort of the Dutch to them, for the purposes of fishing.

SELDEN's error lies in not observing the same distinction, where, at the close of the first book, he asserts, that any sea whatever is capable of appropriation.

In virtue of this right of maritime dominion, uniformly exercised by the British nation, from the earliest records of its history, for the preservation of it, as that author informs us, do we trace

in those records the tax of the Danish Danegeld, the Norman assessments, levied on the Herring and White Fisheries, whether resorted to by natives or foreigners. Even the navigation of the British seas was subjected to tolls and customs; passports and letters of safe conduct were granted through them. Consequently, in early times, the Dutch did not fish on our coasts, without permission expressly asked and obtained; the size of the vessels used by them in the fisheries were by us regulated.

It is incontrovertible, that the uniform tenor of our history evinces the dominion exercised by the British kings over the surrounding seas in protections granted, laws imposed, limits prescribed, all founded in natural right, avowed by common and statute law, fortified by immemorial prescription. The Romans, while in possession of this island, availed themselves of the same maritime dominion.

HAVING thus prepared the way by this summary discussion of the point of right, let us now enter on that of facts and serious truths.

WHILE there is an English, a St George's Channel, an Irish Sea, the Hebrides of Scotland, though three hundred in number, are in no charts dignified with

the appellation of Archipelago, in none described as situated in a Scottish Sea or Channel, but as Ultima Thule, in some remote neglected part of the world. With the navigable cuts, the establishment of fishing towns, proposed by Mr Knox, the sources of wealth derived from these hitherto dreary, waste and barren shores, would be inexhaustible. Where nature denies cultivation, under the influence of an inhospitable climate and soil, she has largely, even profusely, compensated the want, in rich iron and lead mines, mountains of marble and limestone, quarries of the finest slate, of granite, the most durable stone known in Europe, at the same time that it is capable of a polish like marble, in abundance of flint, marl, kelp, that valuable article in the glass-works, forests of the finest timber of different kinds, fir the prevalent. Nor are there wanting traces of coal and copper. Where the surface is barren, the bowels of the earth are rich; where both fail, the shores and surrounding seas afford inexhaustible treasures in the vast shoals of herrings, and abundance of the white fisheries. Notwithstanding all these important national objects; notwithstanding the course of the trade from Ireland, Bristol, Liverpool, and the whole extent of the western coast of Great Britain, lies in this direction, the Hebrides, and a coast of about four hundred miles along the main land, are left to the most perilous

navigation, at the mercy of the winds and waves, without a town, harbour, light-house, dock-yard, or ship-carpenter; without the means of saving a vessel going to wreck, or of furnishing a sail, cable, or anchor, to one in distress.

THE eastern coast, particularly what of it is washed by the Forth, lined with so many once populous flourishing towns, that, with such success, prosecuted the fisheries, have so repeatedly suffered from the English depredations, during Cromwell's Usurpation, and at other periods, and since the Union, have so manifestly and rapidly declined in that and every other branch of industry, as now to present but one continued scene of poverty and distress, imploring the aid of the Legislature to the re-establishment of their former commerce. Nor other has been the fate of Dumfries and other towns stretching along the Solway Frith, and Mull of Galloway, that did not escape the general ruin and waste of the kingdom. What mortifying reflections does this deserted long extent of coast suggest, of 150 miles, including the curves, provided as it is, with so many natural harbours, in the centre of the three British kingdoms, and so well situated for the American and West Indian trade. From the Mull of Galloway to the Clyde, there are as few traces of commerce, which completes the cir-

cuit of the northern desert shores of the first Island in the universe.

THE only way for it, and that a providential one, left to profit of the late great revolution, and the multiplied errors that led to it, to secure and improve the naval bulwark of these realms, is, throughout the whole extent of the British coasts, more particularly the long neglected northern ones, where, at this day, is not to be found a dock-yard, that has furnished a single ship of war for the Royal Navy, to promote, by every possible aid of the Legislature, the extension of the fisheries, navigation, and ship-building: which last branches were so much encouraged in the colonies, to the unspeakable loss of the mother-country, as now only to be recovered by extraordinary patriotic exertions.

THE revenue collected in the Highlands does not defray the expences of collection, and the declining trading and industrious part of the people are impoverished and distressed to furnish it, for the support of the long, idle train of officers, of different descriptions, and not for the strengthening of Government. It seems reasonable to think, with all due deference, that a distinction should be made in taxation between the two parts of the Island.

As an indemnification for the continued series of discouraging measures, that, very far back in their histories, the Southern neighbours have so unrelentingly pursued against the Northern, what remains for them to do, it would appear, is an almost total remission of so scanty a revenue, that they are so exhausted in the payment of; and the land, with some other subsidiary taxes, raised in Scotland, to be applied to the improvement of its fisheries, navigation, agriculture, and manufactures: Agreeable to the suggestions of that patriotic reformer in civil affairs, who, though of the same name with him that led to reformation in religion, is of a far different spirit; not that of destroying, as his predecessor was actuated with, but the reverse, building and improvement in all the arts.

THE history of the Scottish commerce presents an early rise and rapid progress. Foreign writers mention a traffic in fish carried on by the Scots to the low countries, as far back as the 9th century; which first suggested the idea to the Dutch of fishing on the coasts of Scotland. The oldest fisheries recorded in the British annals, are the Yarmouth, dated from the year 495, now on the decline with the Scottish. The first check the latter met with, was from the obstinate and bloody contests with England, in which the weaker kingdom so gloriously

maintained its independence. ° They revived with the civil wars of that country, till weakened by the union of the two Crowns, crushed again by Cromwell's depredations, after which, all attempts to restore trade were frustrated, in the failure of the Darien settlement, which was partially sacrificed by William, to gratify his English and Dutch subjects. The union of the kingdoms soon following this fatal disaster, in which half a million was sunk, besides the many lives lost, almost annihilated the faint remains of it : This last, and not the least blow, it has at this day not been able to recover from, and without extraordinary exertions of Parliament never will.

THE Royal Navy of Scotland, which, in the reign of James the IV. exceeded that of any of his contemporary princes ; and at its head was the largest ship then in Europe, was but of short duration, having been begun under James the III., it vanished after the death of James the V. and with it the splendor and independence of the kingdom. So much is it drained of its specie, that, instead of a million circulating at the Union, it, for many years, has not amounted to more than L. 200,000, by Mr Knox's account, half a million according to Dr Smith. Even that small sum, the first mentioned author tells us, is purchased in England at the an-

nual expence of L. 4000 by the Scottish banks, to maintain their circulation. London bills often fell there at a premium of two *per cent.* After the creation of the Glasgow-bank, it is said the trade of that place doubled; after that of the banks at Edinburgh, the trade of the whole country quadrupled. A great advantage derived from the banks are their cash-accounts, in bringing the whole specie into circulation, suffering none of it to lie dead without interest. The Scottish merchants have the same advantage with the English of discounting bills of exchange, with the additional one of the cash-accounts. But these practices, when carried to excess, defeat their salutary views. They are so when they exceed in the credit they afford the sums, that without them would lie dead in merchants hands to answer occasional demands. From that excess arise the ruinous schemes of drawing and redrawing, of late carried to such a height. The increase of the number of banks, tends to check this dangerous spirit of adventure, and, in every respect, promote the national credit.

THE rise in the price of butchers meat, the greatest advantage reaped by Scotland from the Union, is counterbalanced in the fall of the price of wool, since that event restrained to the English market,

instead of the general one of Europe, before open to it.

WHEN such is the proportion of Scotland's specie to L. 18,000,000 in England, in Ireland to L. 1,600,000, there seems to be a necessity of its being treated, not as a source of revenue, but of trade.

ALL the three countries have been too deeply sacrificed to wild schemes of ambition, the fleeting pageantry of triumphs in the eastern and western hemispheres. If our unparalleled constitution so happily escaped the contagion of the riches of South America, in the rejection by Henry VII. of the proffered services of Christopher Columbus; the constitutional liberty there escaped only, while the eve of national bankruptcy was reserved for us in North America. Nor are we to be flattered that our losses in the west will be compensated by our possessions in the east; since from the monopolizing company there established did those very losses originate. The threepenny duty on tea, calculated for their benefit, first blew the flames of war, that raged through all the quarters of the globe, boiling half Europe, and that did not end but in the dismemberment of half the British empire. That dangerous, burdensome monopoly cannot compensate

the dismemberment, which, after founding its dominion in such violence and oppression, does not carry on so beneficial a trade, though clogged with such expences to government, as the nation does with several European states, Holland, Germany, Spain, and formerly Portugal. No compensation is to be looked for from that quarter, to favour the importation of the productions of which many branches of the home manufactures are loaded with so heavy duties; nor from them who so often have come to Parliament for relief in their distresses, sometimes when on the verge of bankruptcy. Merchants make as bad sovereigns as sovereigns do merchants. In Bengal, money is frequently lent to the farmers at 40, 50, and 60 *per cent.* and the succeeding crop is mortgaged for the payment. Such was the usury in the Roman Proconsular provinces in the decline of the Republic. The whole system of our eastern governments is but too Proconsular. Considered as nurseries for seamen, our extensive foreign dependencies are not so valuable as generally thought: The Asiatic, African, and West Indian latitudes, are unfavourable to the British constitutions, and the graves of thousands: It is from our own coasts still the supplies are of these drains; on the neglected parts of them are the best remaining sources of naval strength, and next to them are what we still retain on the American continent.

AFTER such irksome details, what are the scenes of poverty, distress, insupportable load of misery, that present themselves through the greatest part of the Highlands, and no inconsiderable share of the Lowlands! Struggling with all the rigours of climate, soil and situation, the natives sinking under the burden, naturally look up to Government for relief; for governments, in much more rigorous latitudes, with greater natural disadvantages to contend with, have, with a lenient and fostering hand, reared populous cities, established seats of commerce and industry, successfully cultivated the arts and sciences, formed growing empires, that may again from their frozen loins over-run the world. But, when our distressed fellow-subjects, instead of that relief their birth-right, from the ruling powers, either mediately or immediately set over them, meet with accumulated oppressions and wrongs, they are reduced to the deplorable alternative of starving at home or emigrating abroad. Many thousands have preferred the last as the least of the two evils, obeying the rigorous laws of necessity, though at the expence of their liberty, and every thing dear and valuable to them in their native country, which all men, in all ages, but reluctantly part with for ever.

If the deluded adventurers that have, or are embarking in these visionary and chimerical projects of

future happiness from present want, knew only that they were but changing the scene of distress; that that they are about to engage in, differs only from what they have been familiarised to in the excess of degree, with the aggravating circumstances of the loss of liberty, and their native soil, which are enjoyments that must ever sweeten the bitterness of affliction, and infuse healing and alleviating comforts into the midst of surrounding cares and sufferings: If they were aware only of these circumstances, there would be the less occasion for coercive measures to keep them at home in the duty they from their cradle owe their country, and allegiance to their Sovereign. But some kept in a state of ignorance of the evils they are to endure, and only knowing what they escape from, allured by false hopes, and still more false promises, fondly grasp at every imaginary ray of relief held out to their wishes, and groundless expectations. Others, not in that ignorance of their future miseries, more than of their past and present, yet driven to despair here, are not left totally destitute of hope in the change elsewhere. And thus the contagion and delirium spreads to the monstrous and alarming lengths we have seen. We have been drained of our people, first to establish the colonies, then in our fruitless endeavours to keep them in subjection; and now, that both these sources of depopulation have ceased,

a third opens in their stead, the continued and unremitting emigrations. The same infatuation seized the Irish in and about the 1728, which did not escape the severity of Swift's pen : His *Intelligencer* exhibits the most striking picture of the oppressions and distresses his deluded countrymen were emigrating to, which corresponds, in every particular, with the details of them of this day, that we are every where presented with.

In former times, there were resources for the famines, alleviations of the wants and miseries, that in their visitations so frequently and so sorely afflicted these parts ; but they were lawless and barbarous, the depredations the inhabitants committed on their more southern neighbours. These were happily put an end to by the Jurisdiction-Act ; but that wholesome regulation only removed the effect, and some of the secondary causes, without striking at the root of the evil. It tended to civilize the Highlanders, in preventing their being robbers, freebooters, and plunderers, but left them to struggle with the same wants as before, that made them such, without any means of industry to conquer them. Hence, more pernicious effects still followed from the prevalence of the same causes, a renewal of the same spirit of emigration, that raged in the last century, to the north of Ireland, under

the iron-rod of Cromwell's usurpation, in the present to North America. In the lawless depredations, the country sustained partial losses, one part of its inhabitants enriching itself with the spoils of another ; in the emigrations, it sustained a total and irreparable loss ; and what it lost by them, its enemies and rivals gained. Ireland and America have, in these emigrants, found their most valuable manufactures and workmen, who, in return for the injuries received from their native land, have, in their several degrees, contributed to the independence of both on it.

WHEN all other remedies for this inveterate ill fail, we have a resource in the Prerogative Writ, analogous to one in the Frederician code, *nequis exeat regno* : A writ which, if the exercise of it is allowed to be, as surely it must, highly equitable and expedient, in the infancy of a state, to prevent its total depopulation, it must no less carry with it the same powerful recommendation in an advanced state of society, where depopulation is to be apprehended from the excessive emigrations of its inhabitants. Nor other legal sanction, than what this constitutional remedy affords, have the proclamations for their support, that are issued from time to time for the prevention of our

sailors from entering into foreign service, and recall of such as have entered.

BUT all other remedies have not been tried, and therefore have not failed; till then, it is not by a rigorous exertion of the Prerogative Writ, that further drains of the people are to be prevented; such a stretch of power would prove but an unprofitable expedient for the redress of the grievances that the Jurisdiction-Act led the way to the extirpation of, but of itself was not equal to the task of complete reform. It is by affording subsistence to the famished at home; it is by a diametrically opposite line of measures to those hitherto pursued, that such salutary national purposes are to be effected; that bleak and dreary shores are to be rendered cheerful and hospitable, extensive tracts of waste and gloom are to be visited, and enlivened by the heart-felt rays of hope; that the lonely sorrowful coast is to be comforted, the bowels of the earth, the depths of the sea, are to be searched for hidden treasures; that new creations are every where to rise, throughout this once flourishing Isle. The East and West Indian trades sink in importance to the British fisheries; and yet it is only on the eastern coasts, that in any period of our history they have been prosecuted with any degree of success; on the western, where incomparably the great-

est shoals swarm, after their separation by the Shetland isles, in their course southward from the northern seas, from the extreme poverty of the inhabitants, and the insurmountable obstacles they encounter in the prosecution of them, they have ever been discouraged. During the last, and part of the present century, the Government afforded some temporary aids, towards the general extension of them; but all the projects proved abortive; and it is left for the glory of the present day to revive the attempt, it is hoped, with better success. No object of such magnitude can engage the attention of the Legislature. And to guide it in its deliberations, it has the researches of Mr Knox. To impair aught, or aught improve of his regulations, is only for a few chosen ones, who, uniting the good qualities of the head and heart, have lived the same laborious days; who, warmed by the same patriotic zeal, fired by the same enthusiastic ardour, honest emulation in their country's cause, softened by the same pity for human misery, and in alleviation of its sufferings, have so penetrated the utmost recesses of the western shores.

THE spirit and complexion of his plans are of the most liberal nature: He is for substituting aids and liberty in the room of bars and restrictions, superfluous distinctions, insolence, and abuse of office, im-

litic limitations in time and place: He is for the laws of Parliament to be regulated by the laws of Nature, proceeding on the principle, that all monopolies, and numerous restraints on trade, are constant obstacles to its advancement, by the same rule, that fluids, when left to themselves, soon find their level. He recommends the adoption of what are calculated and within our reach, *mutatis mutandis*, of the Dutch regulations, relative to the seasons, methods of fishing, process of curing and packing, as the Irish have wisely done in their act of 1785. That rising nation too has led the way, in the erection of fishing towns, to line the coast of Donegal with; Parliament, in 1784, having voted L. 20,000 for that purpose.

THE encouragements offered by Government should be of the most liberal nature: The Hebride fisheries require it in a more particular manner, on account of the competition from Ireland and Sweden, the natural impediments they have to encounter, impediments that enhance their value to the state. To the first of which countries there is every danger of the emigration of our fishermen, as formerly of our manufacturers, from the allurements held out to them from that quarter, and the difficulties and discouragements they struggle with at home. Without more powerful aids from Government, it cannot be but that this inestimable branch of mari-

time greatness must remain in the same declining way, it has hitherto done, if not dwindle away altogether to nothing. While the rivalry from Holland, Ireland, Sweden, Norway, is such, the restraining laws, expence of equipment such, the British fisheries must continue to decline; nor can they be reared, till put on a level with all the surrounding neighbours, in every point of liberality and encouragement. Another very important consequence derived from these improvements, would be another short and easy communication opened between the two islands from the Mull of Kintyre, of mutual advantage to both.

A GREAT object of the fisheries is the supply, at so easy a rate, of so large a portion of the inhabitants of a country, that, in the most fertile years, produces not grain enough for its own consumption, and in barren seasons is drained of very great quantities of specie, to supply its wants by importation. Fish, fresh and salted, and potatoes, would be the most nutritious and prolific food for extensive districts, to the great diminution of the consumption of butcher's meat, with it of pasture-lands, and consequent conversion of them into arable, a fresh source of wealth and population. It is further evident, that if with moderate profits, we go to the foreign markets, all things equal, our fishermen possessed of the same in-

dustry, the same methods of fishing, curing and packing with the Dutch, as the fishery is so much nearer us, surrounding our coasts, and proportional to its vicinity is the gain of time and labour, we ought to fit out, man and victual the vessels employed in it at a considerably less expence than the Dutch, and with greater profit. We have the double advantage too of boat and buss fishing; they are confined to the latter. And, if with all these advantages we may not be able to undersel them in the foreign markets, it will be no inconsiderable gain to enter into competition in them, with now not only our rivals in commerce, but also in politics, since the breach of their alliances with us, and late cement of them with our neighbours.

THE author of the *Wealth of Nations*, at the same time that he so successfully explodes the mercantile system of bounties in general, admits of an exception in favour of the fisheries, as an object of national defence in the augmentation of its sailors and shipping. The same author is well aware of the wretchedness of the Highlands, where he says, it is not uncommon for a mother there, who has borne twenty children, not to have two alive: With the industry he is equally well acquainted, in stating that more than a thousand pair of Shetland stockings are annually imported into Leith; and that in that

island worsted stockings are knit to the value of a guinea a pair and upwards.

THIS island, from its singularly providential local situation, before all other nations, is to look for the expected fruits of its labours, when to these objects directed. It is surrounded by almost every species of valuable fish, in their stationary shoals, and periodical migrations from the northern seas. If the subjects of other kingdoms are on their own and our coasts, restrained to periodical fishing, interrupted, and resumed at intervals, with many and great difficulties to struggle with in the temporary prosecution of it; Nature, or rather Providence, has dispensed with all obstructions, whether of time or place, in favour of this: The fish offer themselves on the coasts at all seasons.

THE year 1782 is that marked with the most dismal and humiliating circumstances in the British annals. It was the last of that disastrous war, the American, when the sun of Britain's glory was set, when our calamities abroad were at their height, and at home the cup of our misery was full, in the famine that visited the land, the fish that then for the first time left our coasts.

As, in all human affairs, there is an ultimate point of elevation and depression, in the British history, so near approaching each other, from which they reciprocally recede, in advancing or declining, it is to be wished by every zealous patriotic Briton, that that may have been the æra of the ultimate declination of Britain's splendour, that her fisheries, from their then lowest ebb, from their then total state of annihilation, in addition to the cruelties of war, the raging of the elements, the horrors of famine, may, with the returning peace of the succeeding year, in their renewal with redoubled vigour, have laid the foundation of the restoration of her glory so broad and deep, as to resist the combinations of the universe against it. Nations, as well as individuals, in the full tide of prosperity, are, for the most part, ignorant of themselves, of their internal frame and resources; and it is in the day of adversity only, that both are, by experience, taught, that primary knowledge, brought back to a right sense of their duty, and resolved, as it were, into their first principles. The Author and Disposer of all events, in his infinite wisdom, prepares such trains of circumstances, as are to lead them out of their flattering delusions, the labyrinths and intricate mazes of error, in which they lie involved, grovelling below, up to this vantage ground, this vertical point of all truth.

In such a manner, has one part of this beautiful island been sacrificed to the ambitious views of conquest entertained by the other, and both to the gratification of those views, in a wide wasting dominion. Thus, has a nation, so long conspicuous and independent, surmounting the natural disadvantages of barrenness, availing itself of its natural advantages, and in consequence of them proportionably flourishing with the surrounding nations, been retarded in the progress of its prosperity, drained of the means of an advancing cultivation by its sister kingdom, whose interest it was, whose chief aim and ambition it should have been, to have aided its improvement, and not left its nakedness exposed to the sport and song of her poets.

In that part of the united kingdom, where the commercial circulation, naturally languid, and still more retarded by the joint operation of the physical and moral causes above remarked, the manufactures established and establishing round its centre, are, in their turn, so uniformly accelerating, that, were it to receive similar impulses at the extremities, from the fisheries, that action and reaction between the two would then be produced, those reciprocal and mutual returns of the blood, in the body politic from the heart to the members, and from them again to the heart, as would cause to spring an en-

fire new order of things, and brighten or relumine our so long clouded hemisphere.

THE exertions of an individual of the first rank in England, we have seen, led the way in the extensive national benefits of inland navigation : Happy for the nation, if the proportional public spirit, of late discovered by the proprietor of the isle of Herries, seconded by the aids of Government, shall be productive of similar beneficial consequences. The names of both merit enrolment in their country's annals, among the first of its benefactors.

WHAT an object for Britain to make the Hebrides such scenes of population and industry, as the Archipelago in its most flourishing days exhibited ! Such an establishment of the Northern Archipelago would soon rival in riches the Southern, and much more than compensate the decline of the trade in the latter. The promotion of the fisheries, abolition of monopolies, would increase, to an extent inconceivable, the tonnage of our shipping, already so rapidly on the rise, from the additional carrying trade, our separation from the colonies derives to us.

SUCH a happy arrangement of things must prove infallible means of raising our naval power to a pitch of greatness, hitherto unknown ; and well it may be

on the rise, since what it has to cope with, is much more than ever formidable, in consequence of the extensive alliances, combinations, confederacies, formed, and forming among the maritime powers on the continents of Europe and America.

WHAT if the humane and generous were spectators of the tragic scenes displayed on this wide theatre of human misery, the recital of which in the pathetic strains, that lately have met the public ear, in all hearers of that description, is able to call forth the affections of nature, and awaken the tenderest compassion. How many tribes of wretched beings have there to struggle with famine, disease, nakedness, unable to satisfy the cries of nature ; no age or sex escapes the disaster, no voice exempt from the lamentations that frequent these solitudes, and pierce the dreary glooms : Gray hairs and youth, the orphan and the widow, all involved in one common suffering. Who of this description, at this dismal relation, how much more at the sight, is not ready to cry out, “ O that this Great Isle would be to these lesser, if the expression may be allowed, its attendant satellites, as is to it the great luminary round which it moves, from which it receives light and heat ; by whose sovereign vital rays it is cheered ! Then would the multitude of the Isles rejoice.”

OUR Newfoundland fisheries have not only suffered great encroachments in the late treaty of peace ; but the tenure of what remain to us of those banks, is every day becoming more precarious. The possession of them was a desirable object to attract the attention, and employ the industry of a naval power ; but not so entirely to engross its views, as to occasion its overlooking the valuable banks on our own coasts, that so abundantly teem with the same kinds of fish. If those so much nearer banks are, even at this late hour, taken advantage of, at the same time, that they will prove the means of extending that branch of our trade, of increasing the nursery for seamen, they will be ready to supply the loss of those more distant Trans-Atlantic ones, at whatever period we may be deprived of them, as we have been of so many of our other possessions in that quarter of the world.

At length patriotic zeal is roused to the contemplation of these important objects ; the legislative superintendence and protection is promised them. If late has been bestowed on them that direction and encouragement which alone could advance them to maturity, let not the progress now made towards the attainment of them be proportionably slow, but by large and rapid strides. These great ends once

attained, we are not to despair of the Republic, that were to argue weak and degenerate minds. We have still resources enough left, whereon to build new hopes of aggrandisement, to rest the foundation of the revival of former splendor.



In the mean time, the works at Dunkirk, Cherbourg and Havre, are vigorously prosecuted: The first well situated for the annoyance of our trade, with its privateers, in war: Cherbourg opens another scene. The whole of the French coast lining the Channel is rendered unfit for harbours, from all its openings being filled with sand, by the violence of the west winds it is so much exposed to. The object of the works here renewed is to remedy this natural defect, to secure a safe anchorage, under cover of a great extent of batteries, for powerful armaments ready to oppose to ours, on sudden emergencies, from the opposite shores, to infect our trade, bar the defence of our foreign settlements, or favour a descent on our coasts. It was the consideration of the works in these alarming points of view, that occasioned our successful descent there in the war of 1756, for the purpose of raising them,

which was effected, and the stores carried off. The same jealousy we have ever entertained of the reparation of Dunkirk harbour and bason, the demolition of which we have been so anxiously bent on. The projected bason at Havre has the same objects in view, the increase of the rival naval power in the Channel.

If under the great Chatham, the descent at Cherbourg was so successfully conducted, when Britain's glory reached its summit, it is for his son, in order to raise us as near, as may be, that height, as he cannot prevent the reparation of those works under his father's auspices demolished, to counteract their intended effect, not by raising similar land-batteries round our sea-ports, as was agitated in Parliament 1786, but by strengthening our floating batteries, for the better enabling us to avail ourselves of our natural bulwark the sea. This is to be done by the encouragement of the growth of ship-timber, by fresh supplies to succeed the great waste that the valuable oak-forests have so long suffered: The American supply, by an unnatural turn in human affairs, is lost to us, and gained to new allies; with this view, the acts of Parliament relative to the growth of ship-timber should be revised, where necessary, altered or amended, and in all

points enforced. The bark even is a capital object for the tanneries.

If England furnishes the hull, why may not Scotland the mast, both parts of the united kingdom thus uniting in the accomplishment of the great object of their joint defence? It is believed, that there are to be found masts in abundance for the first rate men of war downwards; but supposing there should not be supply sufficient of that size, is it not a national object, a leading one in political œconomy, thence to furnish the inferior rates, the merchantmen, all the denominations of trading vessels? If they are inaccessible in most places at present, for want of roads, do not the same objects point out the evident necessity of making roads to them through rocks, over mountains, by mining, by all the means possible? Will it be said, that political œconomy dissuades from such expensive methods of access, even to so great sources of national wealth, and urge the preferable resource in going in quest of Norwegian pines, across seas, through the Sound, up the Baltic. It shall be taken on the supposition for a moment, that it is more profitable to depend on the foreign, than the home supply; is it no object of national importance, the circulating the balance of the expence in the Island, rather than out of it, and so diminishing

the balance of trade, now so much against us in that quarter? Is it none to be independent of all accidents, in peace or war, of others, and they too in a jealous latitude, where the armed neutrality originated, solely relying on ourselves for the supply of this indispensibly necessary article to our existence as a people? But how does the account of expences stand? Is it less expensive than the blowing some rocks, in aid of the navigation of rivers for floating the timber, or obtaining access to it by land, to fit out vessels for a long voyage, run the risk of shipwrecks, pay toll at the Sound, pay insurance, be shut up half the year in the Baltic by ice; add to all these obstacles in peace, the additional risk in war of the enemy intercepting the very supplies that are to enable us to cope with them? Or if all these impediments, natural and artificial, in the foreign trade, are attended with less inconvenience, less cost to private adventurers, than the internal, still is it, supposing it so, and a wild supposition it is, more profitable to the nation? Again, in that point of view, will it be contended, that the nation's gain, in the exchange of the home for the foreign trade, would be overbalanced in the loss it would sustain in the diminution of the Baltic trade, as a nursery for seamen; it is answered in the negative, if the fisheries are encouraged

proportionably, or more than proportionably, for there need be no limitation to its decrease.

If it is further urged in favour of the Baltic trade, that its sole object is not the Norwegian pine, but with it variety of other naval stores, hemp, tar, iron; the same argument that is conclusive against the importation of the one production, is equally so against that of all the rest, that the climate and soil of this Island, by any industry of ours, can furnish us with. Let us then raise hemp sufficient for the supply of our arsenals, and let us enquire into the state of the iron trade. Of about 64,000 tons of iron annually manufactured in Britain, 53,000 it is computed are foreign; why in this respect too, we should be so inattentive to national interests, of which such abundant national supply may be had, does not appear, and partakes of the iron age; especially as the qualities of the native are so excellent, being tough, durable, easily wrought, and fit for every purpose, except farming utensils and horse-shoes, its texture not being so close as that of the foreign, to render it as lasting, when exposed to much collision or friction: If it is indispensibly necessary in these branches, to these, and these alone, should the importation be restrained, if not altogether found inexpedient.

OUR mines and minerals are great sources of wealth; a late important discovery has set their value in a new and striking point of view, the property of pit-coal to convert pig into bar-iron. By prosecuting to advantage this discovery, we should not only supply ourselves with this valuable article, but share at least the exportation of it with the Swedes, if not by being enabled to undersell them in foreign markets, engross it. For we save the process they must submit to, the preparation of the materials for this work, the charring the wood in addition to the hewing, which of itself is a more difficult operation than the digging the coal out of the pit is: what they lose in time and labour, we gain.

BESIDES this great advantage derived from the use of coal, there are several others, as the extracting of tar, that other valuable article in ship-building, too valuable much to be monopolized; with various chemical preparations, as vitriol from the sulphur, sal ammoniac, which has the same properties with hartshorn, or is another name for that and volatile salt, from soot, phosphorus from burnt coal; and bituminous oils are found in the pit. Such are the subterraneous riches of this kingdom, far more valuable than all those of Peru and Mexico, if we will but avail ourselves of them. There is not any

species of coal-work that is not a source of national wealth, as there is none where time and labour are unprofitably consumed; in every process relative to them, there is gain of both, and in every stage of every process. Add to all these considerations, that weighty one, that in proportion to the multitude and extent of the advantages arising from this branch of trade, will be its increased circulation, and with it that of our best nursery for seamen. What inducements all these great gains to search the bowels of the earth, for materials used in ship-building, of importance itself, sufficient to rouse all our attention, and keep it stedfastly directed to so capital a national object. Further, the process of extracting tar from coal is a preparation of it in its then charred state, for making pig-iron. We have seen the success our exertions have been attended with in the cast iron-works, let us transfer the same industry, in hopes of the same success, to the other branches of the pig and bar-iron; let it also be enquired, whether the cornish white metal is equally, or more fit for sheathing ships with than copper.

THE great object of these several branches of reform is added to the decreased balance of imports, and proportional increased balance of exports, consequently of wealth, the internal supply of all the

requisites essential to the formation of the basis of our national existence, not to say importance. From a reliance on the never failing resources within ourselves for them, arises much of our independence of the accidents of time and place, bars of nature and art thrown in the way of their recovery from abroad, of nature in the frozen Baltic, of art, either in the combinations of the Baltic powers, not probable, precluding us from them, or in the event of war in our vigilant enemies intercepting them.

LAND batteries, such as were proposed for our safety, are not sufficient to guard us against attacks from within or from without ; from without, as they would too much divert our attention from the sea batteries, the only safeguards against attempts from that quarter ; from within, as our liberties are in most imminent danger, whenever some thousands of troops are collected in one place, for the manning of such works. We cannot be so fortified as not to be vulnerable in some part ; if not in all, in none, as a landing once effected, none of our fortifications but may be taken, and turned against ourselves to maintain the landing. Yet the principal dock-yards require fortifying, as the destruction of all or any of them is irreparable. Nor is it only from the open attacks of the enemy they are to be protected, but also from the secret traitor

lurking within, with a torch in his hand, ready to consume in a moment the work of years, and what years cannot recover or restore. Such traitorous attacks we have been too often sacrificed to already.

If one of the powers in league against us, burnt both Portsmouth and Plymouth in Richard the Second's reign; if in Charles the Second's, another of them occasioned the disgrace at Chatham; and their admiral Van Tromp, with a broom at his top-gallant mast, in derision, swept the seas; if in the American war the combined fleets of the branches of the house of Bourbon rode in an insulting manner in the Channel; and in the very entrance into Plymouth harbour, took one of our ships of war, what may not be apprehended from a combination of the three, when, in such embarrassed circumstances, they find us, if in so far better, we were so vulnerable to their separate attacks, in the most essential points of interest: May we not fear, if not more attentive to our interests, lest our history ends as it begins, with an invasion, and that from the same quarter, by a people under the same dominion with us, at the time of it, and equally ambitious with those masters of the old world, of becoming the conquerors of the new?

THE next subject of reform that presents itself, and, like the last, subdivided into parts, is taxation.

In finances, as in the complete circle of the arts and sciences, simplicity is the height of refinement. An excess of refinement is as bad as a total want of it. The OEconomists of France, in considering land as the only source of taxation, are in the one extreme of refinement in finance, and we, in our present complicated system, are in the other, of departure from it ; and as all extremes are to be avoided, the due medium between the two, is the great desideratum in politics. Such excessive taxations as ours, so complicated and various, so diffused and diversified, is the expedient resorted to in the impolitic legislation of all weak states, as the momentary prop of a crumbling edifice. The consolidating the customs and excise, it is trusted, will happily lead the way to the disentangling us from the intricate mazes we are so deeply involved in, and prove favourable beginnings of the great work ; for much remains to be done, after these objects are accomplished. For our guidance in the completion of the work, two leading rules require to be adhered to ; one is that of the three great sources of revenue, wages, profit, rent, the last is the principal ; the other is, that the luxuries, not the necessities of life are the great objects of taxation.

AFTER exhausting luxuries, the residuum of taxation, in passing lightly over the necessities, wages,

and profit, as subsidiary resources, should finally rest on rent. If this principle is right, it leads to a distinction between the luxuries and necessities.

Of the first class are play and opera houses, taverns, and ale-houses, coffee-houses, and, in general, all places of public amusement, and public debauch. Cards, dice, wines, carriages, men-servants, coffee, tea, chocolate, foreign spirituous liquors, home and foreign luxurious articles of dress, confectionary, perfumery, toys, jewelry, plate, sugar, tobacco: With these may be classed, as subjects of taxation, the emoluments of office,

BUT quite distinct from these, of a quite different nature, and as such, for the relief of the labouring poor, and encouragement of manufactures, exemptions from taxation, should be deemed salt, soap, leather, candles, coal, though the deficiencies occasioned by such exemptions should fall on land, as the only residuary productive fund. The posting and horse-taxes, as checks to agriculture and inland commerce, might also yield to other resources. In this plan, there is no sacrifice intended of the landed to the mercantile interests, as has been too uniformly the governing principle of administrations for ages past, and which is the main spring of all the national sufferings. The reverse, there is no sacrifice of

either meant, but the joint and mutual prosperity of both. The freer the circulation of trade is, the greater the value of land, its basis. Both, in the present system of things, being much burdened, neither, in the sharing of the burden, bring a proportional relief to the other, but alike languish under the impositions. The other way, what immediate losses landholders would sustain, would be amply repaid them in the enhanced value of land, flowing from an accelerated free circulation of trade. In diffusing taxation into such a multiplicity of channels, the relief held out to the landholder is only fictitious, as on him, in general, the burden finally rests : by removing then, the deception, truth only prevails, and things are placed in their natural order : State and individual equally gain by the reform, in the diminution and conversion to better employments, of the numerous trains of revenue officers. The State-machine seems thus no longer of that intricate complicated structure, wheel within wheel, the motion of one clogging and counteracting that of another, but reduced to the clearest and simplest principles.

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THE remaining branches of reform are more in detail, less of the aggregate nature than those are

that have been discussed ; and first of them, and that calls loudest for public attention, are the Poor Rates, wonderfully perverted from their original institution, as funds allotted for the maintenance of the discarded Monks, on the abolition of the monasteries at the Reformation. The profound author of the Wealth of Nations has so fully discussed this subject, put it in such a variety of lights, with such accuracy traced the rise and progress of the laws relative to it, pointed out their defects, abuses in the several stages, and the necessary remedies, that there is no room for either amendment or addition.

It is to be observed only in general, that if other proofs were wanting, the immense number of poor and profligate, would amply evince our declining State. That the general prevalence of luxury, the defect of police, frequency and licentiousness of little ale-houses, which should be discouraged by raising the tax on the licences taken out for them, all, in their several degrees, conspire to produce the poverty and misery of the lower classes of people, is a truth equally serious and palpable. The millions raised for the poor rates, to the great oppression of the subject, embezzled and misapplied by the managers and overseers, chiefly squandered at law, in discussing fruitless questions about settlements, and not a little in furnishing out their feasts, experience

shews are inadequate to the end, and only aggravate the evils they were meant to remedy.

THE laws of settlement and corporations, as they check the free circulation of labour, violate natural liberty and justice, create more poor than the rates, enormous as they are, are equal to the maintenance of: They are the corrupt parts of our constitution, the most flagrant abuses in it: They are besides, the laws of settlement at least, similar sources of civil war with us, to the Gabelle and Provincial bars to the free circulation of internal commerce in France. Here then, let the ax be laid to the root of the tree. The repeal of the laws of settlement, might be accompanied with that of the exclusive privileges of corporations, statutes of apprenticeship, all several encroachments on natural, without promoting civil liberty, unknown to the ancients. What then remains to complete the system of British liberty, is to extend it to every branch of inland commerce, in the promotion of the uninterrupted circulation of labour, by the removal of these its chief bars and restraints; for which great end, it is hoped, the wisdom of Parliament is now employed.

THE more liberal the system of the corn-trade, as every other branch of commerce, the more poli-

tic : But that species of liberality displayed in the bounties on exportation, seems national waste and profusion ; and what is more consonant to political œconomy, is that lately adopted by the Emperor of Germany, and now in agitation in France. Any regulations deemed indispensably necessary in this branch of commerce, should be uniform throughout the united kingdom.

THE code of penal laws require a revival and reformation, which in their present state derive but too much of their spirit and complexion from the bloody institutions of Draco, powerfully combated by More and Beccaria, and weakly defended by Hales and Puffendorf.

Is there no alternative between capital punishments and transportation for thefts and less atrocious crimes ? Is there no substitution, in the room of both, of the Roman *servi pœnæ* in this land of liberty ? Is the air of it too free also for such a species of slaves to breathe, those that by their crimes have forfeited their freedom ? Montesquieu does not attack this mode of establishing slavery, at the same time that he so justly condemns it on all the grounds urged in its support by the Civilians, Puffendorf, and others ; on the contrary, it merited his sanction, as it has received that of Beccaria.

IF then legally and constitutionally, if consistently with humanity, we may adopt such a mode of punishment, instead of others written in characters of blood, there is no want of room for the employment of the criminals, either in the works above or under ground, or both, so fatal to the human constitution, to which they are fitter sacrifices to be devoted, than more valuable lives. There is besides ample scope for their labour in the port of London, the first in the world, the navigation of which is now so interrupted by shoals. And here let it be observed, as most applicable, that if the Lord Mayor, who, by chartered right, is appointed Conservator of the Thames, will not exert his great privilege to national advantage, the controlling power of Parliament might interpose its authority with adequate remedies.

ANOTHER instance of neglect is the want of an hospital, on an extensive and liberal plan, for the aged and disabled sailors in the merchant service, such as Greenwich is for the Royal Navy.

LET us attend to the improved regulations in the Post-office, and in this view the late partial may serve as introductory to the total abolition of franking. The establishment of this Office, as it

is one of the first, so it is the best of the revenue institutions. It had its rise in the civil wars of Charles the First's reign, nor since that period has the wisdom of Parliament been able to devise a law, that should at once so essentially contribute to the advantage of the revenue, and ease and profit of the subject; both are equally gainers by it. It is not so obvious then how it should have occurred to legislation to devise an exemption from the small duties, or rather acknowledgments, for taxes they cannot be called, that the public pay into this office, for the great advantages they derive from Government's so smoothing the wheels of inland commerce, and facilitating the intelligence and correspondence between all parts of the kingdom: Nor is there room for it in these times of urgent necessity.

LET us banish all Scythian barbarous notions of extensive pastures, and with them all our wild schemes of depopulation; a phrenzy which time and sad experience must cure us of, if no sober advice will have the effect, when too late it will be found, that the more flocks and herds there are, the fewer people must remain to wear the wool, and eat the flesh. Swift says, in his endeavours to reclaim the Irish from this fatal error, that Ajax was mad when he mistook a flock of sheep for his

enemies: But we shall never be sober until we have the same way of thinking. See Sir Thomas More's Utopia, in beginning.

WITH these improvements, may a revival and reduction of the pension list take place, and only such retained on it as are proper objects of royal munificence; and may the public money be perverted to no private views; all useless sinecure places, as enumerated in Mr Burke's bill, abolished.

A MEASURE of expediency is the extension of a militia to the nothern part of the united kingdom, united in that, as well as in every other respect, all invidious distinctions abolished. Such a general militia, with a respectable naval force, will admit of more than a proportional reduction of that unconstitutional institution, a standing army. This branch of reform, though the last here treated of, is not the least important; as on it chiefly depends not only our united efforts, constitutionally exerted in defence of the country against foreign attacks; but also against civil broils, intestine divisions and convulsions, with the preservation of that balance of power, which well poised, and kept in due equilibrium between the two parts, constitutes the welfare and prosperity of the whole island; and which once destroyed by

the more aspiring and encroaching neighbour, involves both alike in the same ruinous consequences.

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A DUE attention to these and similar objects of political œconomy, might yet save, yet recover the State : Could we but add to the list public virtue, the chief of all the desiderata. But that is scarcely to be looked for in these degenerate days of luxury. Still an invariable regard had to these our remaining resources, with what portion of that good is yet surviving, if any there is, or if none, still is the experiment to be made what they of themselves can operate towards our relief, in mitigating the heavy and almost insupportable burdens imposed on a declining State, in contributing to the repeal of the impolitic taxes our manufactures so generally labour under, our trade is so universally fettered with, and in preventing their further extension. But we must not hesitate too long in the application of the remedies ; for while we procrastinate and live from day to day on expedients, the ship is sinking : *Deliberat Roma, perit Saguntum.*

BUT to awake at length from all golden dreams of prosperity, to break asunder the bands of all flat-

tering delusions, it remains that, in proportion to what diminution our external strength already has, or still may very probably receive, we improve to the utmost advantage our internal, by every exertion bestowed on the waste lands and fisheries.

LET us look forward and anticipate events ; let no new lights burst upon us on the spur of the occasion, but we are to be prepared to meet and combat the blow from whatever quarter, and at whatever time it comes ; not like the unskilful boxers, Demosthenes compares the Athenians to, that apply the defence only to the wounded part. So we shall in some measure control remote contingencies, and not thus be perpetually harassed and surprised, kept in constant alarm, by their sudden and unexpected arrival.

THOUGH complete reform is not of the growth of this age or country, nor does the British soil and climate seem favourable to its propagation, still the culture of it ought to be the object of the anxious wishes and earnest endeavours of every zealous lover of his country ; with what care and industry can be bestowed on it now in its infant state, till reared to that maturity that will enable it to make those shoots, that are to compensate the labour and attention it now receives.

WARNED by these examples, let Britain watch over the preservation of her civil and religious liberties: Let her be aware, that all things in the moral, as the physical world, carry in them the seeds of corruption, circumscribed by space and time, verge to decay. The fabric of her constitution so excellently constructed in all its parts, and all the parts so harmoniously conspiring to the formation of the whole, the admiration of the world, must have its period of dissolution. That is only to be retarded by an adherence in its constituent members to virtue, the principle on which it is founded. But the decay of that principle in the body natural from the prevalence of luxury, is hastening the decline of the constitution in the body politic.

THE principle of honour will operate to support the Government in the neighbouring kingdom in the midst of national depravity and corruption; and when the period comes, which seems not far distant, that we shall have no principle in our constitution to oppose to that of theirs, then it is that all the advantages they enjoy over us will have their full effect against us.

WHAT fatal effects have arisen from the jealousy of trade, that, in sacrificing to it, two great and powerful nations should have wasted so much blood

and treasure ; in the gratification of it, how much of their flourishing state have both impaired, nor in their mutual contests do they seem to have looked on each other with other eyes, than as if the existence of the one was incompatible with the safety or credit of the other.

THE Grecian Republics, in the institution of the Gymnasia, the Olympic, Isthmian, Pythian, Nemeæan games, cherished virtue in the breasts of their citizens, the principle of their constitution, animated them with an heroic ardor, and generous spirit of emulation, that blazed out in such distinguished achievements on the glorious plains of Marathon, at the straits of Salamis and Thermopylæ. The Romans, to inspire their citizens with the same virtuous and patriotic zeal, rouse in them the same noble enthusiasm, trained them in the exercises of the Campus Martius, placed the images of their ancestors in the porches and vestibules of their houses, carried them at their funerals, to their memory instituted funeral games and orations, that each successive generation, in the contemplation and recollection of those represented, might be fired with an emulation of their heroism and patriotic worth.

WHAT remains for us to substitute in the room of such incentives to excellence, is the remembrance

of what we have been. Spanish Armadas we have defeated, French invasions frustrated. Let us ever have in view the glorious fields of Cressi, Poitiers, Azincour, Blenheim; ever recal to mind, our Edwards and our Henries, Marlboroughs and Hawkes, with all the long train of British heroes.

ADD to the recollection of those renowned names, the contemplation of the noblest monument of national magnificence, now existing in the universe; and that displayed in its extent, the grandeur and sublimity of the architecture, the happy choice of its situation, on the banks of the richest river in front, with such a back ground, formed by fine hanging woods and lawns, in full view of the entrance into the port of London, the first also in the world, that the mariner entering and returning, in the contemplation of the elevating object, may be inspired with gratitude and zeal for his country, that has secured to him such an asylum and retreat in his old age, when disabled and infirm, worn out in its service, as surpasses the palaces of princes.

WHILE contemplating past examples of patriotic virtue and courage, standing on record, we are not to be unmindful of the living. Above all, may not merit lie neglected, and interest, cabal, intrigue, run away with the honours and rewards due to it. No

longer to our discredit, may the hero of the Serapis, and famed Gibraltar's rock go unnoticed, unrewarded.

To return from living merit, to the memory of the departed ornaments of British annals, let not the walls to it consecrated, be prostituted to the reception of the remains of players. If Atterbury, in the most elegant classical apostrophe of modern times extant, has addressed the shade of Chaucer, in terms conciliatory of his indulgence, for the approach, as the remaining support to his side of Philips's ashes; were the spirits of our Shakespeares and Miltons to rise, and in the general wreck of the evil days on which we are fallen, view those walls monumental of their fame, nor hallowed with their ashes, inclosing those of bands of players, amid the choirs of Bards, how would the Muse of Milton exclaim :

“ Fame is no plant that grows on mortal soil,
Nor in the glistening foil
Set off to th' world, nor in broad rumour lies,
But lives and spreads aloft by those pure eyes,
And perfect witness of all judging Jove;
As he pronounces lastly on each deed
Of so much fame in heaven, expect thy meed.”

Lycidas.

Shakespeare would see his urn honoured in the sacrifice made to it of Garrick's remains, at once a Bard

and disciple of nature, for the purpose of revealing the unparalleled merits of him, her most faithful interpreter: But how with indignation would he avert his eyes from the unhallowed bands, that so indiscriminately are intruded round him, and, as the guardian genius of this land, lament the dearth of real merit, when its place is so supplied with that of fictitious growth. Where now shall departed worth lie, thus deprived of its wonted retreat, and long undisturbed asylum! What a contrast to Atterbury's delicate and truly classical proceeding is formed in the closing the right side of Shakespeare, with the remains of Pritchard! How ill suits with Philips's monument and Atterbury's modest epitaph, that of the actresses couched in no such conciliatory apologizing terms by the Poet-laureate; how ill the loudly proclaimed praises of the latter, with those negatively bestowed on the former!

*Vatum certè cineres tuos undique stipantium
Non dedecabit chorum.*

How clash the choir of Bards, all thronging round the tomb of Chaucer, with the band of players round that of Shakespeare! How unequal in themselves are the supporters of Shakespeare's shade, Thomson and Pritchard, and compared with those of Chaucer's Cowley and Philips, what a falling off is there!

M O R A L E S S A Y.

IF it is said of Moral Truths, that the near relation they bear us effaces the shades of difference between them, and suspends the functions of the distinguishing faculty ; if it is argued of them, as of visual objects, whose too near approach confuses and confounds the sight ; still the analogy does not in strictness hold, nor is there any thing in it to deter us from endeavouring to attain that knowledge inculcated in the celebrated words pronounced by the Oracle at Delphos,—*Know thyself* ; not so difficult to acquire, as the wisest man of antiquity, to whom they were addressed, averred, but a science founded in certainty, reducible to fixed determinate principles, and within our reach. For the mind's eye, the eye of reason, when not perverted and vitiated, can look inward on itself, reflect on its own operations, which the organ of sense cannot, and which, but

for the unerring guide of the other, would often misrepresent to us the objects it is conversant about, and brings within the compass of its view, displaying them in colours different from their native and genuine. Thus, it is corrected in the misrepresentation it gives us of the double image arising from the pressure of one eye, the crooked appearance of any thing straight immersed in water, the yellow hue that every thing receives from the jaundice. In the same way, to pass from earthly to heavenly bodies, sense informs, in contradiction to the sublime and infallible truths of the Newtonian Philosophy, that the earth is the centre of attraction, and the sun, with all the planets, move round it as the centre. But reason is called in to the aid of the imperfection of our senses, which evinces, by appeal to the senses themselves, in the way of experiment, that not the earth, but the sun, is the *primum mobile*, that first moving principle in the creation. Nor does the command in Scripture, to the sun to stand still till Joshua had fought his battles, impeach the certainty of the solar system, as the sun has its motion round its axis, as the rest of the system round it; and with the ceasing of that central motion, all the other secondary circular motions of the planets necessarily cease too.—Not less infallible is reason in moral than physical speculations.

As motion is to the body, the inclination of the will is to the mind, and passions of the heart: both are meant by nature to contribute to the preservation of the body, not to its enthraldom. The sect of philosophers of antiquity the most enslaved by the passions, it is well known, was the Epicurean, whose *summum bonum* was pleasure. To which was opposed the Stoic apathy. Zeno, and the sect he founded, knew no other way of combating their opponents doctrine, than denying the existence of pain and pleasure, thus denying their virtue its chief merit, a victory over them. The Christian dispensation affords other means, those of Grace, of counteracting the attractions of pleasure, and asserting freedom from the control of the passions. There is no religion without morality, no morality without religion; they both stand or fall together. The influence, then, of religion on moral conduct, is here necessarily presupposed, agreeable to the method of mathematicians, who assume certain self-evident *data*, on which to build their theorems and problems. As our duty is threefold, that to God, our fellow-creatures, and ourselves; the two latter branches are the more immediate objects of this enquiry, as the necessary emanations of the primary fundamental one, which ought to be taken for granted in all such cases as that before us, and the special

application of which should be reserved for those, whose professional studies have most qualified them for it.

It was the total absence of it from the Epicurean System, that made it so subversive of all good. Its Author removed the Gods to such an awful distance, that they could not—represented them so addicted to ease, that they would not—behold the actions of men, and interest themselves in them. Hence his Sectaries were those *Epicuri de grege Porci*, grovelling in every thing that was low and sensual,—every thing degrading the dignity of man: And, without a due sense of that dignity, we shall be little better, if not worse, than they were. By how much greater is the falling off, as greater ought to be our conceptions of the dignity, from the superior lights diffused on it, that paganism was estranged to, and, compared with which, what faint gleams it received, might well be called no other than darkness, a total eclipse. Certain it is, some, too many, from subscribing to modern Epicurean tenets, others of more elevated thoughts, *nullius additi jurare in verba magistri*, framing such doctrines to themselves, lie grovelling as low as their originals, like them prefer darkness to light, and that to such a fatal degree, that the immortal Newton, when he af-

signed his gravitation as an universal principle to the physical, might at the same time have extended it to the moral world, where we have as much bathos or sinking as ever there was in poetry, without the sublimity. In the art there have been sublime geniuses, few such characters in the science. If we lift our eyes and thoughts to a contemplation of the heavenly bodies, and their harmonies, if ever we take a complete survey of the works of creation, it is not sufficiently to revere the Creator ; if ever we explore the depths and mysteries of nature, it is not always to praise the Author of Nature ; so then, on a return to ourselves from such speculations, it is not to perfect that first knowledge, the knowledge of ourselves. What connects us with the earth, is the body ; with heaven, and the Creator of both, is the mind.

EPICURUS, it is said, however bad his theory, was in practice a moral good man ; nor did the example he set, correspond with the precepts he taught. His *summum bonum* pleasure was of a negative nature, consisting in the privation of all pain, and no positive good. He owed much to Democritus, with whose fountains Tully said he watered his gardens. His atomical system he took from Leucippus and Democritus : he denied

a providence, the soul's immortality, and estimated all things by the senses, and that to such a degree, that the sun and moon he thought no larger than they appeared to be, as his follower Lucretius has expounded his doctrine. Nor was he aware what dangerous lengths it was to be carried, into what depravity his followers were by it to be betrayed. He inculcated the practice of virtue, but not as a principle of conduct, not as containing any thing in itself amiable or gratifying, but merely as conducive, by means of its attendant satisfaction, and tranquillity of mind, to that state of the body in which consisted the most complete happiness. Magnanimity, generosity, justice, humanity, benevolence, and fortitude, were all with him means only proportioned to that end. This loose method of philosophising, this unhinging of principle, dissolution of the bonds and cement of society, in the degeneracy of his sectaries, made such inroads into human nature, led to such sensuality and gross licentiousness, that they fell a prey to sloth and indolence, all energy of the mind was enervated, every active principle absorbed. Hence arose the Atomical System, when immorality, irreligion, atheism triumphed.

FROM the counter system to this Stoicism, sprung every thing that was manly, great, generous,

good: fortitude, heroism, disinterestedness, and the whole chain of the social virtues here had their full scope and sway. Whatever remains of them, were to be traced in the decline of the Roman Empire, were the fruits of this philosophy. But the impressions were but faint, the traces rare; the general prevalence of the opposite doctrine, in spreading wide the corruption of manners, encouraging effeminacy, dissoluteness and pleasure, hastened its downfall.

THE fate of both was to be carried to extremes, and the excess of Stoic Apathy was attended perhaps with too much severity, not altogether calculated for the purposes of human life, more than the excessive relaxation of the other. Between these extremes Plato and Aristotle steered a middle course, in the recommendation of virtue, propriety of conduct, prudent management, as the perfection of human excellence, and main spring of happiness. This propriety or prudence, with them, consisted in the due balance of the social and selfish passions, in tempering and moderating virtues, so as from their excess not to incur censure, at the same time they dissuaded from the opposite vices. Of this golden medium the test must ever be sympathy, or the corresponding feelings of our fellow-creatures. They were zealous advocates for

virtue, as in itself admirable, for its own sake amiable, and the chief object of a wise man's pursuit. The *ἀρετή* or moral excellence, the *καλόν* or moral beauty, was, with Plato, the *ἡδὴ* or *ὀφελιμὸν*, the pleasant or useful; with Aristotle, the *ἐπαινετός* or laudable. They opposed to bodily pleasures, those of the mind; the purer intellectual recreations and amusements, as the predominant, to which the others were subaltern and subservient. As born in society, as there standing in various relations, with duties in each to fulfill, they represented man as an active being, and in him encouraged every virtuous principle of action.

MOST of all are we to guard against the licentious systems broached among the Moderns by Mandeville, Rochefaucault, and others, as of all the most dangerous, where virtue and vice are confounded, maxims adopted of the import, that private vices are public benefits, that there can be no virtue in the world as long as there is any passion in it, whether kept within bounds or not. The gratification of this licentiousness is the abuse of the noblest prerogative of man, his liberty: it is the denial of it to his actions, that for his actions he may not be deemed accountable; and transference of it from them to his thoughts, that so the free-thinker may no longer be the free

agent, but, like the frail machine of his own invention, the fabric of his hands, without any principle of action in itself, may hold himself acted upon by the same blind and fatal necessity, reduced to the same level with it. This scepticism is the source of all the immorality and infidelity that the world so abounds in. Equally fallacious and imposing, and so to be avoided, is Hobbs's selfish system; that of reason, as the source of virtue, in opposition to sentiment, or the moral sense, left for the penetration of the benevolent Hutcheson to discover—A discovery that at once does honour to his head and heart. In it he has drawn down this philosophy from the head, from the seat of reason, to place it in the heart, its proper residence, and there, as on its centre, to fix it; thence, as from the fountain-head, by the Author of Nature ordained, in its emanations, to diffuse itself in varied and multiplied rills through his works, in benevolence, the sympathetic feelings, the generous overflowings of humanity, the tender and finer emotions, and all the train of social virtues. Under the influence of this sense, as the standard and infallible criterion of morals, impressed with its secret and unerring impulses, we implicitly, and without hesitation, assent to the truths of the science: It requires no process, no operation of the understanding, to trace the causes

of the effects, to inform us of the reason why, or the manner how we receive the impressions; but on consulting the heart, it tells us at once they are such, and we are so affected by them, they so irresistibly, so powerfully, and by such an absolute necessity, seize on the conviction. It is thus we are influenced by the standard of taste, in the contemplation of the sublime and beautiful in nature, and the fine arts founded on her as their model.

IN praise of the immortal Socrates, it is said by Cicero, *Tusc. Quæst. L. 1.* and *Acad. Quæst. L. 1.* That he drew down Philosophy from the heavens, placed her in cities, and there made her conversant with men in private families, that she might enquire into life and manners, virtue and vice, good and evil; leaving the labyrinths of physics and metaphysics, astronomical pursuits, and such abstruse speculations, as were either altogether beyond our reach, or not conducive to the exemplary conduct of our lives.

It is not hence to be inferred, that these pursuits are to be totally disregarded, only not so to ingross our attention, as to preclude our more diligent researches into that science which directs its views to common life. These other speculations are to refine the understanding, this to cor-

rect the man; these are of amusements the most rational, this of instructions the most salutary; these are directed to the improvement of the head, this to the culture of the head and heart. Our thoughts are not to be too much employed in, or solicitous about the more subtle and intricate walks of philosophy. The contemplation of other worlds is, generally speaking, too high and mysterious for us; it is enough if we know what passes in this, what so nearly concerns us and our welfare; that which before us lies in daily life is the prime wisdom, Milton has said; nor easily attainable, can that wisdom be held, with all our diligence and most unwearied endeavours, since the wisest of men professed himself unequal to the task.

THE ancient writers have treated this subject in a very diffuse and comprehensive manner, the modern in a more connected and systematic method. Among the latter, each has established his standard of morals, and to that has uniformly directed his theory. With one it is self-preservation, with another sympathy, a third benevolence, and a fourth utility. Many of the modern systems are so licentious as to have proved of the most dangerous tendency to religion and morality, utterly subversive of the principles of both, destruc-

tive of their noblest views, undermining the very basis of society, and attended with fatal consequences to the most valuable interests of mankind.

To leave, then, all such perverted systems, let us enquire with others into the true and genuine, sublime and beautiful, in morals, the *πρεπον* and *καλοκαγαθιον*. Nor ought these to be less the objects of our earnest researches in the intellectual than in the natural world: and on enquiry it will be found, that there is the strictest and most invariable analogy between them in each of these views, and that the natural and moral graces shed mutual lustre on each other. The divine Socrates, so eminently distinguished for the graces of his mind, excelled in an inimitably fine representation he drew of the Graces in Nature. That harmony with which Nature began, and which still animates and pervades all her works, giving them life and vigour, without which she soon would sicken, soon would die, in which the spheres move and play, the elements in quaternion run, is congenial with, and analogous to the harmony of the soul of man; and if he is that little world himself, and kind of compendium of the greater, as the Ancients have advanced, let him be most anxious in the preservation of that resemblance, by excluding all the discordant and jarring sounds that are to break upon

and interrupt the harmony that humanizes his frame, and promotes the culture of his heart. It consists in the influence of reason on his actions, which, when disturbed in the exercise of its functions, by the intrusion of irregular and turbulent passions, is then said to have its place usurped by discord, whose attendants, confusion, irregularity, and deformity, seize upon, and control the human constitution.

EVEN in this perverted state of things in human nature, the resemblance is not lost between the microcosm and the greater world; for, what the turbulent sway of the passions are in the one, the convulsions of nature are in the other, that assail her in storms, inundations, earthquakes, hurricanes, volcanos. As in the fall of man, passion usurped the seat of reason, so all nature sympathized with him, and sickened at the introduction of sin and death into the world. It is in the description of this change, that the unbounded sublimity of Milton represents the Angels actually effecting what Archimedes had so bold a conception of. *Δος πρῶτον, καὶ τὴν γῆν κινήσω*, Archimedes said; and Milton,

He bid his Angels turn ascant
The poles of earth, twice ten degrees, and more,
From the Sun's axle; they with labour push'd
Oblique the centric globe.

B



NOR are these rude shocks of nature more sub-
 versive of her silent operations, than the inroad of
 ungovernable passions are of the moral rectitude
 of man's actions. When this harmony of nature
 fails us, and the effects of passionate discord break
 in upon our peace of mind, it is then most we fly
 for relief to artificial harmony, in the concord of
 sounds.

And ever against eating cares,
 Lap me in soft Lydian airs,

And when this discord rises to the height of
 fury and madness, it is then most to be allayed
 by melody, and such modulations as best may
 imitate nature. As the voice of music rose, Saul's
 fury fell.

To be waisted along the smooth and even tenor
 of our days, amid prosperity, ease, and happiness,
 to float on the silent lapse of time, in tranquillity,
 peace, and contentedness, is far, very far, from
 being the lot of humanity. The goods of this
 life are blended with but too great a proportion
 of the ills, if not with such a proportion as alto-
 gether to overbalance them; and all the scenes of
 human affairs are constantly varied and diversified
 with the motley ingredients of each. Pleasure
 and pain are nearly allied: gradual and imper-
 ceptible is the transition from the one to the other.

Of this truth a fine illustration is the allegorical fiction of Homer's two casks that he places at the foot of the throne of Jupiter, the one containing the goods, the other the ills of life, which, mixed together, are thus spread and diffused through all worldly occurrences. What tempers this reflection, is another, that partial evils are general goods, and only such discords in the general sum of things, as conspire to the universal harmony; but the wise ends to which they are directed in the dispensations of Providence, are concealed from our shallow and imperfect sight. At the same time it is to be considered, that few things are so bad, but what they might have been worse; and when we compare our own situation with that of many round us, we shall reap from the comparison some degree of alleviation and comfort. Who, dissatisfied with his own lot, and making painful contrasts with it and that of others around him, envying the riches of one, the power of another, the personal or mental qualifications of a third, would undergo a total change with them? and who, instead of a total, would not submit but to a partial change?—Whatever station we are placed in, we are bound to fill it with that resignation and cheerfulness that our duty to ourselves and others requires, repining the least pos-

sible at our own lot, and envying still less that of others.

LET us meet the storms of outrageous fortune, if not by opposing to end them, with that submission and complacency suitable to our nature. In the midst of them, we are to have recourse to the solacing reflection, that all is for the best; that these apparent ills are but means in the hands of the Ruler of the Universe, out of which he brings forth good. Nor let the ridicule or wit of modern sophistry divert us from the consideration, or deprive us of its healing and mitigating effects. Without such an aid and support, all the voyage of our life must be bound in shallows and in miseries; tossed and agitated from one storm of fortune to another, we shall find no haven or place of rest. Nor is it for our happiness to suffer our thoughts to be too deeply engaged in gloomy prospects, but rather that we should always endeavour to turn the fairer side of things; nor should present innocent joys be damped, in the anticipation of future imaginary bad consequences. Inestimable is cheerfulness, not only in its formation of the man, improvement of the character and manners, but in its salutary effects on the human frame and constitution itself. Monastic austerity, and rigid severity of manners, is long since antiquated and

exploded, now totally banished the social circles of cultivated humanity.

It is not such discipline that is necessary to the arming us with the fortitude requisite to steer our course through the sea of troubles, with which we are every where encompassed : That insensibility to the external impulses of fortune, is not the shield we are to put on in such dangers : it is not so we are to retire and be collected within ourselves, relying on our internal resources as on impregnable intrenchments ; it is not thus we are to be armed at all points. For such rigid and severe mortifications, if it tends to blunt the edge of pain, to disarm fortune of her sharpest stings, and most pointed arrows, it at the same time renders us equally indifferent to the sensations of social enjoyments. And such a state of total indifference to good or ill, pleasure or pain, were it attainable, it may well be questioned how far it is desirable. If it resolves itself into a listless inactivity ; if it is subversive of all the tender and finer feelings, the stronger emotions and impulses that are to prove incentives to enterprize and spirited exertions ; and if, in their stead, it is to substitute a mere cold and passive deportment ; if it is insensible to all innocent pleasure, but such negative pleasure as consists in the absence of pain ; and if, from its insen-

sibility to pain, it is a stranger to the enhanced sweetness of succeeding pleasure,—we are not to be led into the delusions of such a system by the dreams and visions of Atlantic Enthusiasm.

THE man of feeling is positively affected with pleasure, and derives sources of it both from reality and imagination : his tender and finer emotions are often awakened to rapture, in the contemplation of the arts and sciences ; the sister arts of poetry, painting, and music, have peculiar charms for him ; philosophy and oratory win his attention, with graces unknown to others. Even painful sensations, and melancholy itself, are sources from whence he can derive some secret satisfaction. He is no stranger to Ossian's joy of grief, or Homer's *ἡμερος γοοιο*, those great masters that drew their images from nature.

WHEN we move in our own sphere, however narrow, diffusing round us what good lies within our reach, we act up to the character of useful members of society. But happy and truly great are they, who, moving in higher spheres, are possessed of both the power and inclination to share with numbers in the smiles of fortune so affluently shed on them.

IN this display of the social virtues, none is placed in so eminent a degree, as Charity; none is more strongly inculcated by the precepts of our religion; none more consonant to the dictates of humanity, or more conducive to the ends proposed in civil institutions. The heart that is not capable of that universal property of common matter, expansion, is not fit to dwell in the breast of man. But that heart, flowing with active springs, that diffuses its bounty to the widow's lonely cottage, and there cheers the drooping eye of the helpless orphan,—that contributes to, and rejoices in the growth and increase of peace and plenty all around it, is that best fitted to the promotion of the dignity of human nature. Such a bounteous stream, constantly teeming, gives fresh supply, new life and vigour to its neighbouring circles; it seems to enliven scenes otherwise chilled and deadened; the fields within its reach seem to wear another aspect, the adjoining villages to resound with the songs of peace and contentment.

WHAT glowing satisfaction must attend the benevolent mind, which considers no riches as its true and just inheritance, but the residue of what is necessary to clothe the naked, and feed the hungry, within the bounds particularly under its charge! The lowly peasant, that with the sweat of his brow

contributes to the ease and luxury of his landlord, has in return a just claim on him for the necessities of life to himself and his family. Small sums in this way distributed by proprietors to the poorer tenants on their estates, might produce great effects: As they are the best judges of their poverty, and must best know the real objects of charity, there is the least danger possible in this way of its being misplaced: if so, then, very small pittances bestowed from time to time on the poor, but industrious labourer, at his own house, and on his own portion of ground, will go a much greater way in the rearing of his family, than considerably larger sums any where else, and under public management. Were this Utopian system of charity to be realized, instead of a State overburdened with poor and poor-rates, we should neither have the one or the other grievance; no poor, at least other than our own, and every one would thus be equal to the maintenance of his own: they would so be equally spread over the nation, not one part overcharged with, and another scarcely visited by them; not towns providing for the poor of the country, or the country for those of the towns.

THE cities thus freed from such a constant influx as the country opens on them, could easily establish funds under prudent regulations, for the

support of their decayed tradesmen and indigent inhabitants, if the charity of the richer citizens was inadequate to the purpose. In this view of things too, the landlords, being exempt from poor-rates, would, in the room of these compulsory contributions, substitute voluntary donations, and that to much less extent, as less than what they now contribute to others poor (their own getting little perhaps, or no share of it) would satisfy their own, and be infinitely more satisfactory to themselves; when at the same time they consult their œconomy, they satisfy their consciences in the gratification of a charitable disposition. The reverse now is, that there is little or no charity, numberless poor, heavy and intolerable poor-rates misapplied, and perverted to other than charitable uses, the feasting and carousing of overseers. Thus has the luxury and depravity of landlords, by withholding moderate voluntary acts of charity, well timed, and well placed, where most due, in their stead, subjected them to immoderate compulsory contributions, and at the same time defeated the ends in both proposed. Hence are evident the benefits resulting from the exercise of this primary virtue, in the threefold view of religion, morals, and politics.

IN vain are we to rely on laws as incentives to good actions : they influence our conduct, but negatively ; they affix punishments to crimes and misdemeanours, but no rewards to merit. The very best laws prove a dead letter, where the mass of a people are corrupted, and have degenerated from their ancestors ; where luxury has introduced immorality and irreligion, rooted out every sentiment of generosity, all honest emulation, and extinguished the flames of heroic ardour. When that spirit of emulation, that so remarkably discovered itself in the young Thucydides, who wept at Herodotus's recital of his history at the Olympic games ; that shone forth in the achievements of the martial youth of Greece, at the celebration of those games ; that taught them to repel the invaders of their country, oppose the Persian descent, and render memorable, for the laurels on them won, the plains of Marathon and Platea : When that spirit was fled, it was then, that under the same old laws and constitution, the Persian and Macedonian gold insinuated itself into her councils, and paved the way for the surrender of her liberties. Under the Roman Emperors, Tacitus says, the same laws, the same offices remained, *eadem nomina, eadem vocabula erant*, that prevailed during the third and fourth centuries of the republic ; but they could not revive the re-

publican virtue, and martial spirit, that the vices of luxury and immorality had totally dissipated.

SUCH a charitable character as has been above treated of, supercedes often the necessity of the interposition of laws, in transactions between man and man. It seems almost to check vice and crimes in the bud, since it removes two main springs of them—poverty and idleness, so long as it encourages only the industrious poor; and if it cannot extirpate the third main incentive—a bad disposition, it may correct it so far at least as to blunt its edge, to turn it aside from criminal enterprises, from plunder, rapine, robbery, and theft, to civil broils and contentions; and the decision of such controversies may remove from courts of law, and in their room, may have his sole authority and arbitration, as the *arbitrium boni viri*, appealed to and consulted, from the confidence reposed in him as the oracle of the neighbourhood.—Allied to Charity, is Sympathy, both grieved at the ills of others; and the reverse of both, is Envy, that repines at others good.

INTIMATELY connected with the above charitable disposition to our inferiors, is Hospitality to our equals and superiors, whether coming under the description of friends, relations, neighbours,

or acquaintance ; and in certain cases, it is to be extended even to strangers. To share in the conversation of men of these descriptions, with them to partake of social transports, and they to join with us in the contemplation of the beauties of nature round the hospitable retreat, must introduce the height of refinement into the liveliest and most rational of our enjoyments. The cherishing in moderation this moral principle, leads to the cultivation of friendship, that chief support of life in all its trials and vicissitudes ; that shares alike in our joys, and partakes of our griefs ; filling up the measure of the one, and lessening the burden of the other. To disclose our uneasiness, communicate our apprehensions, pour out our complaints, seek counsel amid our perplexities, in the breasts of those we confide in, fly to for relief,—breasts susceptible of congenial emotions of tenderness, sentiments of generosity warmed with sympathy ; never fails to raise the dejected mind to better hopes, to infuse soothing and cherishing ingredients into the bitter cup of affliction.

THE exercise of hospitality, too, leads to the amusement of all others the most rational ; the embellishment of rural residences, in the adorning the wastes of uncultivated nature, crowning the uplands with hanging woods, the formation of lawns,

levelling uneven and broken surfaces throughout extended plains, the continuance, without break or interruption by the rude hand of art, in forced line or row, of finely varied, gradual, undulating slopes, so as not to interrupt the eye in its free range and progress over the extensive scenery, which eagerly grasps at variety and infinity in the objects of its search, all inclosures modestly retiring from the sight, and art nowhere appearing but to assist nature in her operations. Such scenery, such glowing and animated landscapes, with what variety of rock and water, hill and dale, flocks and herds, may conspire to enliven and complete the enchantment, afford but a barren pleasure in our own solitary contemplation of them. It is for others, as well as ourselves, that we are so warmly interested in these undertakings, that please so much in the conducting, and review of them when completed, and in the execution give sustenance to so many industrious labourers. Here is charity, in another point of view, ministering to our luxury; and our luxury, if moderately indulged in, redounding to the emolument of our families; and whether moderately or immoderately, certainly so to that of our country. Our fields thus enlivened and ornamented round us, the torches glowing under our hospitable roofs, all the laws of hospitality kept sacred and

inviolable, which is virtually performing the same due rites and ceremonies to the household gods, burning the same incense on their altars that the Ancients did; the sublime and beautiful in nature emulating the sublime and beautiful in morals; the moral and natural graces vying with, and mutually shedding lustre on each other; such an assemblage of fortunate incidents seems to fill up the measure of earthly happiness.

ADDED to this hospitable demeanour, there is a duty enjoined neighbours, in their deportment to each other; but it is in every situation of life mutual and reciprocal. It consists in the keeping inviolable each others rights, privileges, and immunities; and if disputes should unavoidably arise about the adjustment of their respective boundaries, or any other incidental occurrences, the same duty inculcates the most speedy and amicable discussion of them, by reference to the decision of arbiters, exclusive of tedious and expensive litigations, in which every thing is to be lost, and nothing to be gained; by which, feuds, animosities, and dissensions, are sown in a neighbourhood, the peace of families broken. Nor are these mischiefs confined solely to the litigants, but spread themselves, and in their course embroil other neighbouring circles, creating parties and divisions, where peace and una-

nimity should uninterruptedly have prevailed, involving in their ruinous consequences, the tenants and other dependents of the authors of the disturbances. To compare great things with small,

Quicquid delirant Reges, plectuntur Achivi.

Such fruitless litigations, too, are the means of the country being drained of the funds, that might so much better be appropriated to the above charitable and hospitable purposes.

WE have now followed the moral agent in the more extensive relations he stands in to his inferiors, equals, and superiors; let us view him retired from these circles to his domestic concerns, to his more secret recesses in the bosom of his family. It is within the domestic walls, and in such scenes, that a great proportion of the happiness and misery of mankind is found to dwell. There is no peace like the peace of a family: next to that household peace, is the peace of a neighborhood; much have they to answer for, that disturb or break either. Having proceeded so far in our investigation of moral agency, we have traced it through some of its varied and multiplied rills, up to the source; if that is not pure and undisturbed, the waters flowing from it, must necessarily share in the pollution, have their colour tinged, their sweetness impaired. Here we may suffer ourselves to pause a little, if not to

close the scene ; since here lie those secrets of the science which seem scarce to be divulged, those tender and endearing scenes which are not for vulgar or garish eyes to be familiarized with. All those thousand decencies, the exercise of which prepare us for the discharge of the greater and more important moral duties, those mutual forbearances and indulgences, they are all subjects of too delicate and refined a nature for precept to handle, and are better enforced by example.

THE excessive delicacy observed in the Grecian domestic life, strained to such a pitch of extravagance for so refined and civilized a people, seems scarcely credible with us. It is handed down from antiquity, that among that people, one branch of a family had no intimate correspondence or familiarity with another ; that they lived in separate apartments under the same roof, with scarce any degree of intercourse. From which extreme and unsociable reserve, arose their intermarriages within the prohibited degrees that take place with us.

LET us now view the moral man abstracted from all these various relations we have seen him placed in, retiring within himself, and in himself collected ; exchanging the real and social pleasures he has been engaged in, for indulgence in the more

solitary pleasures of the imagination. Let us follow him in the cultivation of the powers and faculties of his mind, partly with a view to his recreation and amusement, partly to the enhanced charms of returning society, his improvement in it, with the acquisition of new ideas for future conversation. Nor other than the man whose picture has been here drawn, may mix in raptures in the muses choirs, or roam inspired through the circle of arts and sciences; soar into the regions of the sublime, or yield to the impressions of the beautiful: Nothing but the most exquisite taste is susceptible of such refined pleasures, and essential to the constitution of it is the nicest feeling, to such feeling the most approved principles. The good qualities of the heart co-operate with those of the understanding, in the reception of such transports: And to such an extent is this idea to be carried, that, on examination, there will be found no real human greatness, no earthly grandeur, or excellence in any of the finer arts or sciences, that does not depend on such an entire union.

THE chief study and principal science of man, is man; *homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto*. There is no true greatness independent of virtue: there is no true valour stript of humanity. There are instances, where a brutal ferocity, with an ex-

traordinary strength of body, carry men on, as if by instinct, without a sense of danger, to the most daring exploits ; but it is not in them we are to look for that true heroism, that martial ardour, that, swelling in the breast, and tempered to just measure, leads to the paths of glory : they have not that harmony in their frame, that, acted upon by martial music, is susceptible of congenial impulses, and, roused into a generous glow of soul, breathes a kindred flame. It is not for them the trumpet sounds, or the drum beats,—their hearts move not in unison. There have been Turennes and Cromwells ; but who would compare the two, or hesitate in the preference ? both great, both singularly eminent ; but the one for his virtues, the other for his vices. To be great, is one thing,—to be great and good, another.

LET every man erect a tribunal within himself ; let him there preside as judge supreme, divested of every selfish prejudice and bias, and acquit or condemn in strict conscientious conformity to truth and to justice. We must often retire within ourselves,—so retiring we shall never be less alone than when alone ; thoroughly explore and examine ourselves, not with a view of deserting society, and leaving the world, but for our better preparation for the intercourse of it : By the same rule, that in the

body-politic, the oftener it is brought back to the original principles of its constitution, the sounder and more incorrupt it will necessarily be preserved, and bid the fairer for the longer duration; a maxim that is invariably adhered to in our own, and so much contributes to its purity and perfection. It is not enough that we please others, are admired and applauded by the multitude; we must too have a good correspondence, and be in perfect harmony, with ourselves; acquire the plaudit of an entire and good conscience, the testimony of which is the severest and strictest of all. We should be severe in our own examination, to be less so in that of others; ready to condemn our own faults, to be the more indulgent to those of our neighbours.

MANY bad men, by imposing on the world, have arrived at great eminence; but in the history of mankind, there is no instance of misers having done the same: Every principle of great actions is obliterated in that corrosive bent of mind given by avarice; all rays of genius are in that dark ground absorbed, none reflected: there, misanthropy, with all its train of infectious qualities, have the entire predominancy, to the utter exclusion of the generous, disinterested, benevolent spirit. Nor ever was there a juster saying, than

that money is the best of servants, and worst of masters. What merit has a miser in the accumulation of riches, since it is done in no other way, than, to use the allusion, a dam, that constantly receives the smallest rill of water imaginable, and discharges nothing of it, will soon swell it to a considerable pool? Strictly emblematical of his state is the fable of Midas, whose wish was, that every thing he touched might be turned into gold. In the gratification of his wish, his food sharing the same fate with every thing else he laid his hands on, he fell a sacrifice to his idol, gold. The golden medium between the two extremes, avarice on the one hand, and dissipation on the other, is a well timed, well regulated œconomy. In neither of the extremes is justice done to ourselves or others; in the medium alone, that avoids both, we are in that happy situation that is to enable us to discharge that twofold duty incumbent on us in society. In squandering unreservedly the gifts of fortune, we involve many of our honest and industrious fellow-creatures in one common ruin with ourselves: In hoarding up treasures, we are as drones in the midst of the hive of bees, taking from the common mass intended for a common benefit, and giving nothing to it in return. Here, that law of nature that pervades the universe, action and reaction, meets with a shock.

A leading branch of œconomy is that of time ; as idleness, it is wisely said, is the root of all evils. Cæsar's maxim was,

Nil actum credens, si quid superesset agendum.

A leading rule in the practice of this œconomy, is, when engaged in any undertaking, never to suppose we have too much time, if enough ; and when any thing is to be done, never to suppose we have too little. Another not less important, is, never to delay till to-morrow what can be done to-day, otherwise it is as in arrears of debt, running up, and becoming principal sums ; the arrears of one day running into another, and that other creating work enough of itself without borrowing of the preceding, a heavy debt comes so to be incurred ;--irregularity, want of method, confusion, is the result. The active industrious man turns a dissipated idler, and at the end of the year, in casting up his accompt with time, (for we all run accompts with it), he, when too late, finds much spent, irreparably lost, and little done. If we would provide ourselves in resources for the days of calamity and distress, whether in body or mind, for old age, let us well employ our time in prosperity, in health, and youth. Edward the Black Prince, did not waste his younger years in luxury and effeminacy, but lived laborious days, to be at once the ornament and delight of human nature. Ambition that is

provident, sacrifices the present to the future; pleasure, which is blind, sacrifices the future to the present; but envy, avarice, and the other baser passions, forfeit both present and future.

THE opposite virtue to covetousness, and ambition too, (for both are alike strangers to the command, Hitherto shalt thou go, and no farther), is Contentment, which, in so circumscribing itself within due bounds, has its happiness summed up in that wise saying of him pronounced the wisest of men, He that needs least, is most like the gods, who need nothing. King Canute, when he vainly endeavoured to set bounds to the ocean, so assuming a power that only belonged to the King of kings, in his all-insufficiency, found he had not learned to limit his own ambition. The ocean had its bounds, his ambition knew none; nor did he know himself. A picture of content is C. Fabricius, who, when offered gold by the Samnites, drawing his hands over his face and body, answered, that as long as he could command all those members he touched, nothing was wanting to him; therefore the money, which he had no use for, he would not accept from those he knew that had. They that have most, want most. Confucius's maxim was, that a man in his youth should guard against lust, in manhood against faction, and in old age against covetousness.

It is not enough that we discharge the duties necessarily incumbent on us in society ; but we are to appear on the scene, and act our part there, with all the allurements, all the graceful, agreeable qualifications, that a profound knowledge of the world, of men and manners, can adorn us with. As this branch of human conduct, as well as the religious duties, tho' intimately connected with the moral, are yet distinctly marked and traced, lead into a further and much more enlarged field of investigation, neither enquiries can well be blended with the subject of this.

No one is to imagine himself the centre of the creation, to accommodate things to himself, and not himself to things, in the stile of Horace,

Mihi res non me rebus subjungere conor.

THE generality of men are placed in a middle state between the extremes of greatness and misery. So situated, let them console themselves with the reflection, that if they are far below the one, they are as far above the other. And there is a way by which they may conciliate the two, without departing from their own sphere, which lies in the acquisition of that golden medium of deportment, that approaches their superiors in the one degree, without envy, fear, flattery, or ser-

vility, but in their stead, with that firm manly behaviour, arising from a consciousness of their own worth and independence ; on the other hand, which raises our inferiors in some respect to a level with ourselves, in the display of a suitable affability and condescension, stript of all manner of pride : For, what have we to be proud of, the most exalted among us ? Are they the gifts of fortune we plume ourselves so highly on ? how very fluctuating they are, we all in our several turns daily experience :—Are they the endowments of mind, or accomplishments of person ? our tenure of them too, we all know, is to the utmost precarious ; besides, that their value is much depreciated, when unaccompanied by the above graces and embellishments. In indulging pride, we are guilty of a double deception, first in overvaluing ourselves, then in endeavouring to impose the same erroneous estimation of us on others. Let princes and kings themselves consider, that more than proportionably to the smiles of fortune, which they in so eminent a degree enjoy above the rest of their fellow-creatures, they share in the common wants and necessities of our nature with the poorest and meanest of their subjects : And most pleasing and instructing are those historians, that, in drawing their characters, penetrate into their most secret and retired recesses, exhibit them to public

view, frript of their state and pageantry, as mere men. with all the passions and infirmities of men about them. This flatters the weakness of human nature, and is some compensation for the great distance they are placed in above us, beyond the most sanguine expectation of our reach. Again, the representation the same able pens give of virtuous Princes, is equally flattering, as it reconciles us more to ourselves, in reconciling us more to human nature.

IN all our dealings, the most inviolable attachment is to be had to truth, one of the leading bonds of society. Our word should in general be as binding as our oath. The adoption of oaths on every trivial occasion, is a prostitution of them, subversive of their force and due effects. But the words and oaths this sacred regard is to be paid to, must be free and voluntary, free as the air we breathe, void of all manner of restraint; for in proportion to the increase of the constraint used in extorting a promise or oath, decreases the obligation to the observance of either. The famous question long since agitated in the schools, whether a lie is in any case lawful, has been decided affirmatively by the most approved casuists ancient and modern, by Cicero, Grotius, Puffendorf, Barbeyrac, Hutcheson. They are some of the ancient

fathers of the church, that maintain the opposite side of the question. The advocates for it, in support of their opinion, instance a promise confirmed by oath, extorted by an highwayman, not to discover him if in our power ; in which, it is agreed, the obligatory force of the promise or oath ceases with the force or threats that imposed it. He that so imposed it, first broke through all the laws human and divine, of course left no lasting impression of its efficacy before any of the three tribunals of God, man, or conscience. In corroboration of which powerful arguments, maxims of expediency conspire ; the good of society requires the apprehension of all such offenders against it, by all the means possible. The principle of this decided point, extended through all the analogous cases, resolves itself into this general rule, that wherever force, threats, fear, fraud, or circumvention, or any undue influence, indirect methods, are the means employed to extort or obtain a promise or oath, such means defeat the end proposed ; and where, on the other hand, they are free, voluntary, unbiassed, procured by no indirect ways, there they are ever to be kept sacred and inviolable. The principle is found this reasoning proceeds on, that there is no consent but what is free of force and seduction. Nor can any line be drawn between the degrees of compulsion, on one side of which the compulsory

method is to have effect, on the other side of which it is to be of no avail, that would be too arbitrary a proceeding, subversive of established principle, which must be attended with a general rule in all such cases, without limitation or exception. All laws human and divine have adopted it, the law of reason and honour give their sanction to it, since in vain will either equity or honour be urged by him, that has first overleapt the bounds of both in imposing the restraint, as an inducement to fulfil the conditions it dictated, after the removal of the compulsion, and the recovery of the freedom of choice. The laws of honour, of later origin, are supplementary of, not derogatory to, those primary obligations of ethics and justice. If there was either crime or fault originally in the oath or promise, there is an additional one in the execution of them.

It is on ourselves, what is within us, not on what is without, not on the gifts of fortune, on the opinion of men, that our happiness chiefly depends : It is on the esteem we entertain for ourselves, on our self-approbation. It flows from moral sentiment, not the motley perverse appearance of things. When we are at peace with our conscience, have there secured a calm retreat from the storms of adverse fortune, we are without the

sphere of the noise and tumult of the pride, envy, restless ambition of designing malicious men, who have no such resources, no other supports to bear them through the course they have marked for themselves, but the full tide of fortune, and the blind suffrages of time-serving flatterers and admirers. But he that is armed at all points, *tanquam ex Trojano equo*, is proof against the lies of calumny so industriously every where propagated, invulnerable to the darts of envenomed malice.

—————Hic murus aheneus esto,

Nil conscire sibi, nulla pallescere culpa!

Such a one exclaims, whose sleep is not haunted, whose solitude is not broken upon by the demons and avenging furies of a guilty and disturbed conscience; retired and collected within himself, a stranger to all the pangs of remorse, he finds a haven, a sure place of rest. If there is any thing that does not fully meet the conviction in the benevolent system adopted by the Eclectics or later Platonists, that rose in the Augustan age, among the Moderns by Cudworth and Hutcheson, it is that excess of refinement in it, that hesitates even to allow of that most innocent of all rational gratifications, as being of too selfish a nature, the testimony of a good conscience, that great alleviation of cares, and balmy comfort mid surround-

ing ills, the consolation of the just, that peaceful monitor, God's vicegerent within us.

SUCH are the fruits of an union of the cardinal and christian virtues, temperance, prudence, justice, fortitude, faith, hope, and charity: the exercise of which alone can secure them to us. Before their superior lustre, and more prevalent influence, the fame and glory of statesmen and conquerors sink in importance, and disappear as empty shadows void of substance. Short as our time is, we shall find many vacuities in it, during our intervals of relaxation from business, and retirement from society, without we can fill up the void spaces with such reflections and sentiments as they inspire. Neglected worth, unknown merit, has this consolation, that all distinctions and ranks in society, if they are not, should be the rewards of virtue, and that the great ought to be the good man, however the multitude may be misled in their conceptions of grandeur, and the voice of the people may be tempted to misplace the tributary applause of the day. There is this further consolation left for it, that only the imaginary advantages of such idols of the world are exposed to public view, within the reach of envy and calumny, and the real ills attending their situation concealed; at the same time that it is conscious to itself that the supposed

ills alone consequent on its want of popularity, are what can appear, the real goods it is possessed of lie hidden, removed from the scope of envy, nor objects for malice to shoot its envenomed darts at.

It is in the school of adversity that a man learns what he is himself, and what he should be to others; above all, that he learns a due resignation to the dispensations of Providence. When such important acquisitions are to be made there, it is well for those that have been tutored in it. In the full tide of prosperity, we fail in the knowledge and practice of these duties. He that is under the entire control and government of his passions, a slave to pride and ambition, a stranger to the enjoyment of peace himself, and disturber of it in the surrounding circles, and is known to be avowedly so swayed, lives without honour; and those that to appearance flatter, in effect despise him. The honourable, and truly estimable character, is he that does the most good, the least ill possible; and what is to be required indispensibly of every member of society, is, at least that negative propensity to its welfare, not to prevent others from doing that good he himself is incapable of. There are times of severe injustice, that it falls to the lot of many, if not most men, to experience; when at once they

have to encounter the combinations of enemies, the sur-
vival of friends and relations, the desertion
of contemporaries. How many have lived to wit-
ness the truth of that reflection, drawn from na-
ture by nature's best disciple !

There is a tide in the affairs of men,
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune ;
Omitted, all the voyage of their life
Is bound in shallows and in miseries.

He that is unacquainted with adversity, if such a one
there is, is too likely to be a stranger to the sooth-
ing consolations of sympathy : No object of pity
himself, experience at least has not taught him to
extend it to others : happy if he has learnt it from
nature, without passing through the school of ad-
versity.

THESE cruel times must be yielded to, the ebb-
ing tide may be so strong as not to be resisted :
the reverses of fortune are to be submitted to in
patience, and in hope, the returns to be waited for,
under the guidance of Providence, and the lenient
hand of time. When feeling all the stings of out-
rageous fortune, the proud man's wrongs, the
law's delays, we have only to cry out with the mo-
narch, whose heroism never appeared more conspi-
cuous in his most signal victories than in his de-
feats, who, when overpowered by numbers, sur-

rounded by enemies, almost totally deserted by friends and allies, at the lowest ebb of his affairs, consoled himself in reflecting that fortune was a guilt, he was no gallant; to-day she was against him, another day she might be for him. That justice, which is so often denied by our contemporaries, posterity may one day render to our memories. There are no advantages that society has to offer, can make the virtuous man abandon himself, renounce his principles, or forfeit his independence; retirement in his own country, or voluntary exile in another, are both preferable to it on those terms. In either of these situations he will find infinite resources in his thoughts; many an interval of relaxation, many an hour of leisure may he then be furnished with, that otherwise might have escaped him, to plan his own and country's good, to cultivate the muses, the arts and sciences, and the fruits of his labours to give to the world.

Of how many great men has it been the lot to suffer exile, who never deserted themselves, if they were deserted by the world; but who, retiring within, and collected in themselves, indulged in reflections, committed to writing thoughts that were to be handed down to posterity as lasting monuments of their fame. To such a fate did the

Ostracism at Athens subject many of her most valuable citizens. Aristides the Just was thence banished : but Socrates the wise and good was there put to death. Such was that of Cicero, of Bolingbroke, who both lived to return to their country, to be consulted as oracles. Nor ever did Marius appear greater than in the constancy and unshaken firmness he displayed in prison and in exile. It was mid the treasors of his own family, in exile from his own dominions, that Mithridates's fortitude shone forth with superior lustre. A great, brave, good man, standing alone without support, other than the shield of fortitude, mid surrounding ills and dangers, presents the image of an old knotted oak on the bleak heath, shattered by the winter tempests scowling over its head, blasted by the lightening, yet venerable in its ruin, displaying its injuries with rent trunk and withered branches, a monument of sublimity, it lifts its towering head with ruined majesty and melancholy grandeur. It is in the reverses of fortune a good man is known, a brave and truly great man is proved. What treasure would the world have been deprived of, what fruits never reaped, had Bacon, Milton, Clarendon, yielded to misfortunes, overwhelmed with distress, sunk in despondency, instead of nobly arming themselves with that shield, smiling amid the frowns of fortune, and seeking in the

muses shades, that peace and consolation denied them in the ways of ambition, tumult and mazes of fordid interest, the hackneyed roads of power.

Justum et tenacem propositi virum,
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
Non vultus instantis tyranni
Mente quatit solida.

Such a man will in the most trying scenes and perilous situations, cry out, *Fiat justitia, ruat cælum!* The reverse of this picture is given in another part of the same author's works :

Clar., clare, cum dixit, Apollo,
Labra movet metuens audiri, pulchra Laverna,
Da mihi fallere, da sanctum, justumque videri,
Noctem peccatis, et fraudibus objice nubem.

If men will not play the hypocrite to themselves, as too often they do to others, after diligent search and examination made into every recess of the heart, they may attain knowledge of themselves sufficient for the discharge of all the moral duties. But let them remember, that there is no more infallible way of dissembling to themselves, than practising dissimulation to others ; if the mask is once put on, it is not so easy to lay it aside.

As we have seen a monarch, whose firm purposes no reverse of fortune could alter, no change shake, so are there to be found in history recorded

those, whom her profusest smiles could never transport beyond themselves. Vespasian and Titus were happy in preserving a little country villa, that they inherited from their ancestors; and those great masters of the world did not find too narrow an accommodation in a house which had been built but for a private individual. Chancellor Bacon, on receiving a visit from Q. Elizabeth, in a country house which he had built before his elevation, and her remarking its small size, replied, that it was not him that had built his house too small, but her Majesty that had made him too great for his house.

IN our struggles with the adverse blows of fortune, it is not for us, if we consult our quiet and happiness, to suffer hope and fear alternately, to seize and convulse our distracted frame, striving for the mastery; but rather that hope should be the predominant, and fear the subordinate passion. Well conceived was the fable of Pandora's box, which she gave, charged with all the ills of life, to Epimetheus, in revenge for his elder brother Prometheus's having stolen Jove's authentic fire, that he might impregnate clay with life. On his opening the box, and giving vent to all the ills it contained, to spread themselves over the face of the

earth, hope was left at the bottom, and here lies the moral and beauty of the fable.

MILTON sums up the dismal horrors of Hell, in these few emphatic words :

————Where hope ne'er comes,
That comes to all ;

no place on earth being excluded from that heavenly gift.

SATAN's sensations on the contemplation of the beauties of Paradise, and its yet innocent inhabitants, are comprised in these words,

Able to drive all sadness, but despair.

And it is in despair, in his farewell to hope, that the violent agitation of passions, in which he is tossed, terminates, as drawn by the same masterly pen, in the celebrated speech at the opening of the fourth book.

BUT it is from desperate councils, and desponding thoughts, that fallen man, in the convulsions of his Pathos, is represented

To better hopes his more attentive mind
Lab'ring to raise.————

THESE moral truths, directed to the mass of the people, the multitude, could they but find their

way to the thrones of Princes, adorn the imperial crown, guide the swaying of the sceptre,—what happy fruits might not be expected to be derived from them to humanity ! There have been Trajans and Antonines, those ornaments of human nature.—In proportion to the goods diffused round those moving in narrower spheres, and in private stations, that we have been contemplating, in the exercise of virtue, would be the benefits redounding to communities at large, from the union of virtue and the diadem. As from the display of it in subordinate ranks and stations, we have seen the result to be the peace of families, of neighbourhoods, the encouragement of industry, the decrease of poverty and vice, the cherishing of charity and hospitality ; so from its access to the thrones of Princes, from its admittance to their councils, and thence banishing pride and ambition, those banes of society, would it ensure the peace of nations, extend the olive branch, turn swords into ploughshares, spears into pruning-hooks, breathe mild laws, cultivate the arts and sciences, and with them adorn enlightened humanity ; then we should see monarchs as the fathers of their people, as crowned citizens, their authority adding to the common good. Before such fame as this, would soon vanish and disappear the fame of bloody and destructive conquerors : From such an union of

morals and politics, would flow the happiness of men, the peace of nations, the tranquillity and repose of the universe.

THE history of mankind appears like a vast wilderness of errors and vices, virtue and truth rarely interspersed in the wild scenery, the seeds of them thinly scattered up and down: or, the review of past ages appears like a long and dark night, through the thick shades of which the rays of those two bright luminaries have pierced but faintly, their gleams have been but languid and of short duration. The voice of philosophy has proved too weak against the cries and tumults of such multitudes; the voice of religion itself has been of as little avail, often made no use of in the wreck and convulsions of time, the havoc and devastation of ages, and as oft, from the abuse of it, the source of much of the calamities complained of.

As this enquiry began from Socrates, so to him must it return. He is the father of morals, as Homer is of poetry. He taught in them, more by his example, than his divine precepts. His guardian demon, tho' fictitious, and he convinced of the fiction, he never failed to consult before entering on his actions, that he might be satisfied of their rectitude and moral tendency.

LONGINUS recommends, in our advances to the sublime in writing, this question to be put to ourselves, How would Homer have expressed himself on this subject?—So in our aims at moral sublimity, in the same manner we may ask ourselves, How would Socrates have acted on this occasion?

ADDED to all his other singular virtues and qualities, Socrates, possessed the military art in a most eminent degree, and often successfully exerted it in the defence of his country. In undergoing fatigue, in enduring the inclemency of the weather, by neglecting the ordinary precautions of dress to fortify himself against it, he was carried to a degree of excess and enthusiasm scarcely conceivable.

IN one of the engagements where he bore so active a part, that at Delium, where the Athenians were overcome by the Bœotians, and great slaughter was committed among their troops, he signalized his courage both in the battle and retreat. In the latter, he did not precipitately fly, as the rest of the army did, but retired inch by inch, with his face still towards the enemy, as Ajax in the Iliad; when, perceiving Xenophon thrown from his horse, and wounded, he took him upon his shoulders, and carried him out of the midst of

the danger. Xenophon afterwards shewed that he profited as much by his master's example in the field as in the school, by the conduct and address he so remarkably displayed in the memorable retreat of the Greeks out of Asia. What a picture is here exhibited! The master and disciple both eminently distinguished for their martial exploits beyond their contemporaries, at the same time both advanced to the highest fame in the walks of philosophy! The master preserving the life of the disciple, that the disciple in return might render immortal his master, in the records he has transmitted to posterity of his actions and precepts.

HAD Xenophon been silent, Plato would have borne ample testimony to the transcendent merits of that great man. The generous competition, the honest spirit of emulation displayed by those rival disciples, in discharging the debt of gratitude to their master and benefactor, in that just retribution, in the payment of the tribute due to his memory, is at once the richest source of profit and delight to the ingenuous reader.

F I N I S.



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